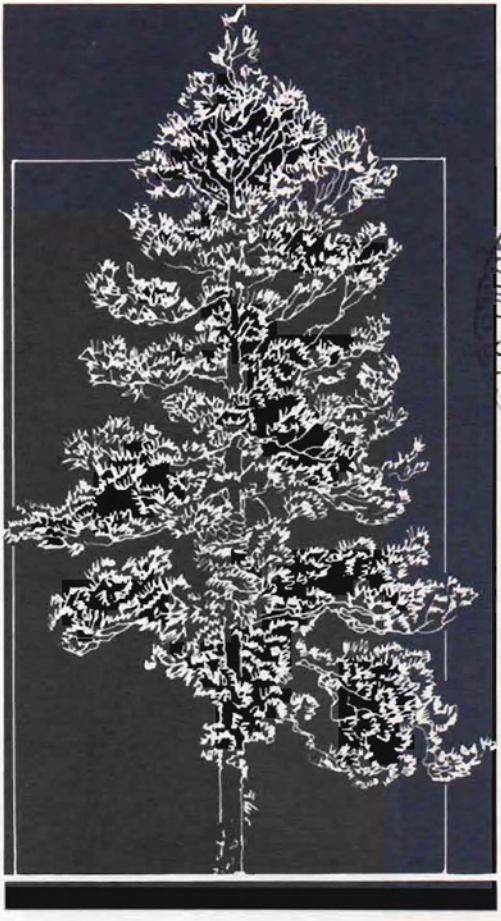
East Texas Historical Journal

Volume 44 | Issue 1 Article 1

3-2006

ETHJ Vol-44 No-1

VOLUME XLIV 2006 NUMBER 1



EAST TEXAS HISTORICAL JOURNAL

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P.O. Box 6223
Stephen F. Austin State University
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936–468-2407
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XLIV – No. 1 – East Texas Historical Association

EAST TEXAS HISTORICAL JOURNAL

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Archie P. McDonald, Executive Director and Editor
Mark D. Barringer, Associate Editor
STEPHEN F. AUSTIN STATE UNIVERSITY
P.O. BOX 6223
NACOGDOCHES, TEXAS 75962
936–468-2407
e-mail: amcdonald@sfasu.edu
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BOOKS REVIEWED

TWO I KNEW IN MARSHALL

By Max S. Lale

James Moyers already was on the staff of the *Marshall News Messenger* when I joined on January 6,1946, after fifteen months and four campaigns in Europe during World War II. James was home after a brief stint in the Navy during which his only blue-water cruise had been a ride to Guantanamo Bay.

James thus was the first of the two Moyers brothers with whom I established a friendship, one that continued until James' untimely death at age thirty-nine, on September 17, 1966, while working as a speechwriter for President Lyndon B. Johnson.

James' brother, Billy Don Moyers, was still a schoolboy in Marshall in 1946. Now, of course, he is a television broadcasting icon and a successor to Edward R. Murrow and Walter Cronkite in that pantheon of over-the-air legends. We are separated by the distance between Texas and New York City, but our friendship continues.

Because of these friendships, I also came to know their parents, Ruby and Henry Moyers. With the latter I also later worked for Thiokol Corporation, a defense contractor, at Longhorn Army Ammunition Plant (LAAP) near Marshall – he as a timekeeper and I as a communications expert.

My friendship with James Moyers was warm and subjective, the two of us being of a similar age. On a relaxed afternoon in Washington, after President and Mrs. Johnson had helicoptered away from the city to visit their ranch in Texas, I promised James in his office in the White House annex that I would keep an eye open for the well-being of his parents. Occasionally this promised over-sight extended to refreshing Henry's summertime vegetable patch with a garden hose while the parents were on a lengthy out-of-town visit.

I also had been preceded in the editorial staff not only by James but also by Sam Stringfellow. My understanding of the timeline was that Stringfellow was the first World War II veteran to return to Marshall. He therefore became the first male to join the all-female staff with which publisher Millard Cope had worked during the war. I do know that as the senior reporter Stringfellow covered the better beats, including City Hall. Eventually, Sam disappeared into the mists of my memory.

Not so James, however. While yet a member of the *News Messenger* staff, he became an adjunct journalism instructor at East Texas Baptist College (now University) in Marshall. This broadened James' grasp of his craft, as did a much larger opportunity later. Almost by default, he became the central go-to guy in the "Marshall housewives rebellion" for members of the national press following the story.

This story involved several housewives in Marshall who decided they would "rebel" against paying Social Security contributions for their domestic

Max S. Lale, a past president of the East Texas Historical Association, lives in Marshall and Fort Worth.

help. In this they were following Connecticut doyenne Virginia Kellums, who said such a practice would make her an unpaid tax collector for Uncle Sam. Syndicated columnist Westbrook Pegler became involved in the Marshall story, as did Representative Martin Dies and others on the right wing of the political spectrum. James had his first taste of dealing with a major story.

These experiences led James to a job as a communicator for one of the sulphur giants on the South Louisiana coast, for which he became a vice president. One of the last times I saw James, aside from a brief visit at President Johnson's inauguration, was during a visit in my office at a Marshall insurance agency. He recounted to me then his hope of buying one of two daily newspapers then being published in Shreveport, Louisiana.

It was then, too, that James told me how he had been recruited as a speechwriter at the White House. While out of town and sleeping in his hotel room, his telephone rang at 6:00 a.m. President Johnson himself was on the line, making James an offer. James said he told the president he would have to tell his boss about the conversation. "My boss told me if I did not accept, I would no longer have a job with his company," James said.

There had been a hiatus in my association with younger brother Bill Moyers while he was out of town growing up. These were the years when he studied at what is now the University of North Texas in Denton and at the University of Texas at Austin, spent a year at Edinburgh University in Scotland, returned to Texas and Southwestern Theological Seminary in Fort Worth for his master's degree, and served a stint as pastor of a Baptist church in the Hill Country.

Millard Cope had taken Bill under his wing while Bill was still a schoolboy. Impressed with the youngster's intellect, Cope had assigned him some stringer work, including covering a local school board meeting. When the assertive, even arrogant, chairman of the board called Cope to complain, Millard suggested that the chairman wait until the newspaper article was printed and then call if there was a problem. There was no call.

When Bill transferred from Denton to Austin, Cope called then-Senator Johnson to recommend Bill for a job at the family radio station in Austin. Bill worked there while earning his bachelor's degree. As president of the Marshall Rotary Club, Cope likewise had been instrumental in Bill being awarded a scholarship to study at Edinburgh.

While James and I were writing obituaries, rewriting club handouts, and doing such other mundane work as covering Saturday night conventions of the controlling Democratic Party, Bill busied himself with his high school studies and ran for president of the student body. I had been hired to replace a sports editor who had gone to Austin to work for the Associated Press. Both of us did the kind of assignments which fall to general reporters on a small newspaper – special editions and other routine tasks.

Millard Cope, whose guidance and counsel Bill later honored by naming his first-born Cope, was not alone in recognizing Moyers' potential. This

schoolboy in the backwater of a racist South was being nurtured by three master teachers in high school. They were sisters Selma and Emma Brotze and Inez Hatley Hughes, who together taught Bill English and, more particularly, writing.

Much later, this posed a difficult choice for Bill when he was asked by a national education group to nominate a teacher for a gold medal. He nominated Selma Brotze, resulting in an ugly telephone call to Bill's mother from Inez Hughes, who felt she should have been the choice.

This clergyman-journalist did not emerge full-blown, Botticelli-like, from a clamshell in the rural South. He was pictured in *The News Messenger* as a member of the cast (all white) on a high school play. There is a tale told somewhat reluctantly by a man still a resident of Marshall of a prank when the two were roommates at Denton.

Nathan Goldberg, a realtor, and his office manager, Hazel Lavender, remembered one such story many years later. The real estate office was in a glass-fronted building on East Austin Street in Marshall. Hanging from a canopy in front was a small sign announcing the business.

As it happened, the Moyers family then lived farther east. Making his way afoot from the high school one day, Bill approached the Goldberg office. Impulsively, Bill jumped at just the right moment to send the sign crashing to the sidewalk. His father, Henry, had to offer compensation for the damage.

Writing an introduction to a book many years later,[1] Bill wrote that he and the author (Bernard Rapoport) had grown up "very poor" ... The poverty he knew in San Antonio was the equivalent of 'dirt poor' in East Texas. It either broke your heart or bit your ankle."

Each of these men, twenty years apart at the University of Texas, knew the way out of their difficulties, in Bill's case thanks to the guidance of his Marshall tutors. "Even the $40 tuition was beyond my parent's means. Yet there, spread out before us in a library larger than my entire high school, were stacks upon stacks of books, available for the asking," he wrote in the introduction to his friend's book.

How James might have realized his full potential by escaping his own difficulties, as his brother has, can only be speculated. I am certain Bill did so, as I have. As pall bearers at James' funeral we waited while mourners left the chapel – this after a memorial service in Washington attended by President Johnson – and Bill stood for long minutes at the coffin, no doubt pondering the same thought.

What were the odds that two brothers, children of wise but largely uneducated parents, would have emerged from a racist backwater to such eminence? It is a puzzle for students of leadership.

In the case of the younger brother, no doubt exists. Clergyman, scholar, author, confidante of men in high places and member of a storied legion that includes names such as Murrow and Cronkite, Bill's place is assured. It must

be acknowledged, nevertheless, that long residence in the East and long association with members of his constituency have cost Bill some of the affection his more conservative homefolk have extended to him as spokesman for their small city.

In my own case, this has not been true. When he retired from *Now*, his long-running Public Broadcasting documentary program, I wrote to congratulate Bill on his illustrious career in journalism. I noted that our attitudes about governance had diverged over the years, but this had not diminished my respect and admiration.

"I was never troubled by any differences between us over politics and governance. Even if they had been conspicuous, I would have ignored them, because our kinship is too valuable to allow transient static to interrupt," he responded in a personal note.

I am pleased to have known two such brothers.

NOTES

[1]Bernard Rapoport, *Being Rapoport: Capitalist with a Conscience* (Austin, 2002).

TEXAS SPORTSMEN AND THE CONSERVATION OF BIRD LIFE, 1890-1915

By Stanley D. Casto

Sportsmen have a long tradition of working for the protection of birds and other game animals. As early as 1829 some hunting magazines were publishing articles about wildlife protection, and in 1844 the first sportsmen's organization for the preservation of game was formed in New York State. One prominent sportsman, George Bird Grinnell, editor of *Forest and Stream*, founded the first Audubon Society and was a member of the American Ornithologists' Union Committee on the Protection of North American Birds. William Brewster, a well-known ornithologist, served as the president of both the American Ornithologists' Union and the Massachusetts State Sportsmen's Association.[1]

Texas sportsmen have also protected wildlife. As early as 1857, the sportsmen of Corpus Christi proposed a law to prevent the killing of certain kinds of game "out of season."[2] Sportsmen were also instrumental in the passage of the 1861 law that protected quail on Galveston Island. From the late 1890s onward, sportsmen led the opposition to commercial hunting and worked for licensing and better law enforcement. When local and state law enforcement proved ineffective, Texas sportsmen organized game protective associations to counter the lawless elements of society. These efforts, particularly from 1890 through 1915, laid the foundation for bird and game protection as it existed in Texas for most of the twentieth century.

Texas State Sportsmen's Association

Early settlers in Texas hunted to supplement their food supply and to provide recreation. As larger game animals were reduced in numbers during the post-Civil War period, Texans developed a hearty enthusiasm for the recreational hunting of the small game birds that were still plentiful throughout the state. This new type of hunting engendered competition and a need to develop competency in those skills necessary to bag flying game birds successfully. From this motivation there arose the sport of "trapshooting," which involved the release of a bird from a "trap" for a gunner to fire at. One of the first trapshooting clubs was located in Austin, where in 1877 a shooting contest used 400 live birds as targets.[3]

In 1878, the desire of local sportsmen and trap shooters to compete at the state level led to the organization of the Texas State Sportsmen's Association, a coalition of gun clubs from several Texas cities. The location of the first meeting of the association is unknown. The second annual competition, held in Waco on May 7, 1879, included contestants from Galveston, Houston, McKinney, Dallas, Denison, and Waco.[4] In later years, the annual competition was referred to as the "State Shoot" or the "State Pigeon Tournament." A business meeting in conjunction with the annual shoot provided a forum in which the sportsmen shared their mutual concerns.

Stanley D. Casto is Wells Research Professor at the University of Mary Hardin-Baylor.

Early Game Laws

Texas passed its first general game law in 1879. This law, which gave protection to songbirds and prohibited the killing of doves and quail during the breeding season, was vigorously protested, culminating in the formal exemption of eighty-five counties. In 1881, the law was strengthened by the requirement a five-month closed season on prairie chickens and a three-and-one-half month closed season on turkeys. Response to this act was almost a popular revolt, and when the legislature met in 1883, 130 counties declared themselves exempt from all game and bird laws. Although individual sportsmen undoubtedly supported the laws, there was apparently no organized effort during this time on the part of their state organization.[5]

OSCAR CHARLES GUESSAZ
Texas Field and National Guardsman, August 1913

O.C. Guessaz and the Conservation Movement

Texas sportsmen found their spokesman in Oscar Charles Guessaz (1855-1925) who was for more than twenty years on the leading edge of the conservation movement. Guessaz was born in St. Louis, Missouri, where from 1875 through 1884 he operated a print shop.[6] He later moved to San Antonio, and by 1888 was the proprietor of *The Daily Times* and *The Weekly Times*. By 1889 he was also publishing *Texas Field*, a magazine for sportsmen interested in game animals and their protection. In 1902 Guessaz and his business partner, Tony Ferlet, purchased the *Southwestern Sportsman* and merged it with *Texas Field* to form *Texas Field and Sportsman*, which about 1910 was renamed *Texas Field and National Guardsman*. By 1912 this publication was the official organ of the Texas State Sportsmen's Association, the Texas State Rifle Association, the Lone Star Field Trial Club, the Texas National Guard, and the State Ranger Service. From 1894 until 1896, Guessaz was also the Texas representative and correspondent for *Forest and Stream*, published in New York City.[7]

During 1890 and 1891, Guessaz served as president of the Texas State Sportsmen's Association, a position that he used to organize sportsmen for the passage of protective game laws. Guessaz was a master propagandist and a man of righteous principle. One of his major objectives was to identify and publicly expose the enemies of conservation. Guessaz clearly distinguished between the noble art of the gentleman hunter and the nefarious activities of the "game hog" and "pot hunter." Guessaz pronounced market hunting a practice "bred of ignorance and a reckless disregard of the danger of exterminating our game birds." As for the laws current in 1890, he declared in disgust that they were nothing more than "dead letters upon the statutes."[8] Through his identification of the critical issues and his adroit labeling of both friends and enemies, Guessaz helped draw the battle lines for the upcoming struggle.

Sportsmen's Convention of 1890

Sometime in late 1889 or early 1890 a group of sportsmen in San Antonio decided to invite a representative from each of the gun clubs to meet for the

purpose of drafting game laws to present to the next legislature. This meeting was eventually held at Waco during May 1890, in conjunction with the state shoot. In anticipation of this historic meeting, Guessaz spoke eloquently of the need for sportsmen to secure the passage of laws that were "compatible with intelligence and enforcement."[9]

Contemporary accounts of the 1890 convention reveal few proposals or accomplishments. At the first meeting on the night of May 6, Oscar Guessaz was selected to act as temporary chairman and John P. Massey of Waco as secretary. At the second meeting on May 7, Guessaz was elected president; W. T. Stewart, vice president; A. Theile, treasurer; and Willard Lloyd Simpson, secretary. The report of the program committee, which presumably contained the game law proposals, was received and adopted, but the details of the report are unknown.[10]

The legislature that convened in January 1891 was not responsive to the concerns of the sportsmen and a comprehensive game law was not produced. The legislature did, however, pass an act to protect seagulls, egrets, herons, pelicans, and their eggs. There seems to be no record of any organized effort by the sportsmen to influence the legislatures of 1893 or 1895 and, as a result, no significant changes were made in the game laws during this time. Sportsmen were, however, active in the formation of game protective societies in Velasco (1892), Harris County (1894), and Quanah (1896).[11] The society at Quanah, concerned with the immense numbers of birds being taken for the northern market, hired an agent to obtain evidence to prosecute illegal hunters and gathered enough money to lease 25,000 acres as a quail refuge.

Texas Game Protective Association

Texas sportsmen were again active during the summer of 1896 in the drafting of proposed legislation. In May 1896, James A. Andrews of the American Game, Bird and Fish Protective Association wrote to Tom Padgitt of the Waco Game and Fishing Club, informing him of the recent Supreme Court ruling [*Geer vs. Connecticut*] that game animals belong to the states and that the states now had the right to regulate the harvest and transport of game. Andrews further advised that to reverse the decline of Texas wildlife, it would be necessary to stop all market hunting and transportation of game out of the state.[12]

On September 4, 1896, representatives from across the state gathered in Waco to organize the Texas Game Protective Association. In addition to securing protective legislation, the organization was intended to disseminate knowledge of the habits and usefulness of birds to mankind. Representatives of the Harris County Game Protective Association played a major role in drafting the proposed amendments to the game law. Each proposal was based on laws passed in other states and tested by court decisions. Major provisions included prohibitions on market hunting, out-of-state transport of protected game, and hunting during the breeding season. Additional amendments proposed by the assistant state attorney general, Robert R. Lockett, included the declaration that game was the property of the state, that enforcement be assigned to the fish and oyster commissioner, that pheasants be protected for five years and

doves protected from March through August, and that possession of out-of-season game be considered *prima fascia* evidence of guilt. Opinions and recommendations were also received from M.R. Bortree, president of the National Game, Bird and Fish Protective Association, and Isaac Pease Kibbe, state fish and oyster commissioner, both of whom delivered addresses to the convention.[13] All of the proposals were accepted with only minor revisions and a committee was appointed to draft the final document. Robert R. Lockett of Austin was elected president of the association; Turner Erath Hubby of Waco, secretary; and Walter Vinson Fort of Waco, treasurer. According to various reports, somewhere between 125 and 200 protectionists attended the convention.

The fall of 1896 was a period of testing for the newly formed protective association. By early November, Secretary Hubby had received reports of "heavy slaughter" of game by market hunters. These reports were, however, counterbalanced by successful prosecutions in counties not exempt from the game law. According to Hubby, "the market hunters and the protectors [were] at war, and ... the protectors have held their ground." Landowners along the coast, particularly in San Patricio County, were sympathetic with the sportsmen in their struggle with the invading market hunters. The manager of the Coleman-Fulton Pasture Company, Captain Charles E.H. Glazbrook, reportedly prosecuted several market hunters, presumably for trespassing upon ranch property.[14]

The next move of the protective association was to call a general meeting in Austin on January 25, 1897, to coincide with the opening session of the state legislature.[15] This pressure technique was apparently successful and the legislature accepted many of the proposals of the association. Most significantly, game was declared to be public property and its harvest could be regulated by the state. Gone forever was the day when counties could declare themselves exempt from game laws! Market hunting and out-of-state transport of protected game were prohibited but, tragically, ducks and geese were excluded because of a strong protest from the Board of Trade at Rockport.[16] No provision was made for a warden system, and enforcement of the law was left up to local law officers. After its successful effort to influence passage of the 1897 game law, the Texas Game Protective Association gradually dissolved and was no longer a major force.

Conservation Activity Slows

Sportsmen were justly proud of the general game law that was passed in May 1897. They were, however, soon distracted from pressing their gains by the Spanish-American War of 1898. Oscar Guessaz became directly involved in the war effort by serving as a quartermaster and as an inspector of small arms and small-arms practice. During late 1898 and early 1899, he also saw service in Cuba.[17] Many of the other sportsmen were likely also involved in the war effort.

Conservation was once again became an issue at the Texas State Sportsmen's Association convention held in San Antonio in 1902. In particular, attendees were concerned with the continued commercial hunting of ducks

and geese as exemplified by their long-time antagonist, Colonel William Lewis Moody, and his market hunting operation on Lake Surprise in Chambers County.[18]

Market Hunting on Lake Surprise

Lake Surprise no longer exists, but before the turn of the century it was widely known as the finest duck and goose lake in Texas. The 714-acre lake was situated on the north side of East Bay, a branch of Galveston Bay, about six miles from Smith's Point. In size it was about a mile wide by 1-1/2 miles long, with an average depth of about four feet. Dense beds of wild celery fed the countless canvasbacks, scaups, redheads, teal, and other species that visited the lake during the winter.[19]

THE MARKET HUNTERS

are organizing every day and it behooves every sportsman in the state to be energetic in that he does not neglect to help the cause of GAME PROTECTION. We have a good law now, but it needs some changes and the sportsmen of Texas must have a CHAMPION. They have it in TEXAS FIELD AND SPORTSMAN and they are asked to aid in extending the sphere of influence of the magazine. Study the following pages carefully

GAME PROTECTION
Texas Field and Sportsman,
June 1906

Lake Surprise was originally state property and, as such, was freely accessible to sportsmen wishing to hunt along its banks. Then, in June 1893, Colonel W. L. Moody, a businessman and banker in Galveston, was granted a patent to the lake.[20] Moody obtained the patent on the premise that the lake was not a permanent body of water and that he intended to drain it and convert it into a rice farm.[21]

It soon became obvious that Moody had no intention of converting the lake into a rice farm. He fenced the lake and hired a gamekeeper and four professional hunters to harvest the canvasbacks for market. Moody reportedly received one-fourth of the income from the sale of the ducks and, as an additional source of revenue, he occasionally day-leased the lake to visiting hunters.

The first confrontation between Moody and the sportsmen came early in 1894, when a visiting party of businessmen from San Antonio asked permission to hunt the lake. Moody refused to allow the entire party to hunt, but he did sell a day-lease to four of the men. The entire party then proceeded to the lake, where the gamekeeper denied access to those men who had not paid. The legality of denying access was apparently contested, resulting in an exchange of harsh words between the gamekeeper and the sportsmen.

After returning to San Antonio the sportsmen related their experience to Oscar Guessaz, who publicly opined that Moody's title was invalid since Lake Surprise was a permanent body of water and could not be legally patented. Guessaz also maintained that the patent had been obtained on false premises and that the State Sportsmen's Association and the National Game Protective Association would work to revoke Moody's title. Hoping to shame Moody into abandoning his operation, Guessaz further declared that "a man who poses before the public as a clean sportsman and an upholder of sportsmen's principles has no moral right to profit by market hunting."[22] However, since market

hunting was still legal in 1894 the sportsmen could bring no charge against Moody on this account. Guessaz renewed his public attack at the convention of the Texas Game Protective Association in 1896 by referring to Moody's hunters as "paid assassins."[23] Thus, the tone was established for an ongoing skirmish between Guessaz and Moody that continued for over a decade. In the meantime, Moody consolidated his position by building duck blinds on the lake and constructing a two-storied hunting lodge on the premises.

By 1897 Moody had developed his hunting lodge into a profitable business. In order to appear respectable, he no longer hired professional hunters but instead invited guests to hunt at his lodge. Visiting hunters were taken by wagon each morning to the lake, where they were instructed to shoot only canvasbacks. Shooting proceeded until promptly 4:00 p.m. when the wagon circulated around the lake to pick up the day's bag. Often a wagonload or more of ducks was killed in a single day. After supper the canvasbacks were cleaned and packed with ice into barrels for shipment to northern markets such as St. Louis, Chicago, Washington, Philadelphia, New York, and Boston.[24] The 1897 game law, much to the chagrin of sportsmen, did not protect ducks and geese and since Moody was still operating within the law, he could not be prosecuted.

In 1900 the Galveston hurricane filled Lake Surprise with salt water and destroyed much of the wild celery, thus reducing the number of canvasbacks that frequented the lake. Other species, however, remained abundant, and Moody's business continued as before. At its May 1902 meeting, the State Sportsmen's Association voted to challenge Moody's title to Lake Surprise, hoping that it would be declared invalid and revert back to the state. In an attempt to arouse public support for this cause, Guessaz declared in February 1903 that thousands of birds were being killed annually at Lake Surprise and that it was "not right that a few men should...grow rich from the sale of something [ducks and geese] that rightly belongs to the public."[25]

Moody continued his activities even after the general game law of 1903 prohibited the sale and transport of ducks and geese. In October 1903, an enraged Oscar Guessaz referred to Moody as "the Galveston Rice Farm Canvasback banker" and predicted that 250,000 birds would be killed during the year at the hands of his "hired butchers."[26] In December 1904, Guessaz charged that Moody was "still killing ducks" or, as one informant described it, Moody was placing ducks in cold storage where they were "metamorphosed into fish and shipped north by express."[27] There were no wardens to enforce the game law and the sheriff was reluctant to move against a person of Moody's standing in the community. Although it was suggested that *Texas Field and Sportsman* raise a fund to prosecute Moody and the other lawbreakers in the Galveston area, this was apparently never accomplished.[28] Some claimed that ducks killed on Lake Surprise were still being shipped to New York City as late as 1912.[29]

The 1903 Game Law

The year preceding the passage of the 1903 game law was a time of contention between sportsmen and farmers. This rift developed as a result of the

mounting evidence that many species of birds ate the boll weevil, and cotton farmers were desperate for relief from the ravages of this destructive insect that had entered Texas early in the 1890s. At the Boll Weevil Convention held in 1902 at Dallas, a resolution was passed requesting a law prohibiting the killing of all kinds of birds for a term of years. Reporters picked up on this extreme proposal and in their news articles described hunters as great enemies of the birds. Offended by this accusation, sportsmen responded that they were "the only active friends that the birds have" and that they had "more interest in the birds than any other class [of people] in the state."[30] Most conservationists believed the position of the farmers was regressive and it received little support when the legislature considered amendments to the game law.

The general game law passed in May 1903 was patterned after the model proposed by the American Ornithologists' Union Committee on Bird Protection. Market hunting of ducks and geese was finally prohibited and bag limits were set. Provisions were also established for scientific collection and propagation. Even without a system of centralized enforcement, Texas now had one of the best game laws in the country.

Most conservationists enthusiastically supported the 1903 game law. Oscar Guessaz, however, was quick to remind sportsmen that their duty was not yet complete. They had helped pass the law and now they must enforce it.[31] Believing that education was an important aspect of enforcement, Guessaz had cards printed with a summary of the law in English, Spanish, and German. Sportsmen were further instructed that it was their duty to inform everyone about the new law, so that no one who was in violation could plead ignorance.

A few sportsmen believed that the 1903 game law was inadequate in some respects. One individual from Beaumont wanted to call a convention to adjust open season dates and to plan a strategy to obtain a game warden system. Guessaz supported the attempt to amend the law but counseled that, for the present, everyone should channel their energies toward resisting the growing efforts of the market hunters to amend the law to suit their purposes.[32] Complacency had also set in among some sportsmen. In August 1904, the *Houston Post* reported that the game law was being violated regularly in Harris County. An effort to form a protective association had proved futile and the local law officers were oblivious to violations.[33] Renegade and hypocritical sportsmen were also a source of considerable embarrassment. Several prominent sportsmen in Houston who publicly supported the game law were rumored to be routine violators, thus providing ammunition for market hunters who claimed that they had more respect for closed seasons than did the so-called "sportsmen."[34]

Oscar Guessaz clearly recognized the economic implications of the 1903 game law. Advocates of market hunting contended that the law must be changed because it had destroyed an "industry." To counter this claim, Guessaz took the offensive in *Texas Field and Sportsman* to demonstrate that just the opposite was true, that an industry had been created that would provide a source of recreation and commerce for years to come. Guessaz estimated that

sportsmen were, at that time, spending five million dollars each year in Texas.[35]

In February 1905, Oscar Guessaz, W. Weiss, C. Taylor Cade, and M. B. Davis appeared before the House Committee on Game and Fisheries chaired by Representative John Lowry Peeler. Since market hunters and business interests were threatening to amend key provisions of the law, it was decided by the sportsmen to hold the line on the 1903 law rather than ask for changes that would advance the interests of game protection.[36]

The 1903 game law survived the legislature of 1905 without any significant change, a victory for both the sportsmen and the Audubon Society. Speaking at the April meeting of the State Sportsmen's Association, Guessaz credited Captain Mervyn Bathurst Davis, secretary of the Texas Audubon Societies, and J. A. Jackson of Austin for this success. Guessaz then proposed that the association form a standing committee to review game law legislation. This proposal was unanimously accepted and Guessaz, Davis, and Jackson were appointed as members.[37]

Illegal Trapping of Quail

Reports of extensive quail trapping near Pleasanton and in Frio County during early 1906 alerted Constable Charles F. Stevens of San Antonio to the possibility that there might be a violation of the law that allowed quail to be collected in small numbers for scientific study or propagation.[38] Then, following a short investigation, Constable Stevens arrested Will W. Carter and his son, Freeman Carter, for possession of over 400 quail. Freeman Carter had a scientific collecting permit and an affidavit from the president of the Board of Fish and Game Commissioners of the State of New Jersey attesting that the quail were being used for propagation. However, correspondence confiscated at the time of arrest revealed that the Carters had already shipped hundreds of quail to E. B. Woodward, a merchant in New York City, who had placed orders for 37,000 more. Other letters showed connections with merchants in Denver and Chicago and contained incriminating statements regarding the sale of quail.[39]

Constable Stevens immediately wrote to W.J. Clay, Commissioner of Agriculture, to verify the authenticity of Freeman Carter's collecting permit. Clay responded on March 22 that Carter's permit was indeed valid and that two citizens of San Antonio had posted his bond.[40] In the meantime, however, a second incident of quail trapping near the city of Floresville had convinced Stevens that the Carters should be held for further investigation.

W.X. Carter, of unknown relationship to Will and Freeman Carter, was arrested at Floresville on March 22 for possession of over 400 live quail. The records of the express companies further showed that over 2,000 quail had already been shipped from Floresville. Alarmed at the magnitude of this infraction, Oscar Guessaz immediately retained a lawyer at Floresville and also sent attorney H.S. Crawford to aid in the prosecution. To prevent Carter from posting bail and leaving the state, he was charged with 400 counts of illegally trapping quail [one count for each quail] for a total bail of $40,000. Guessaz then left for Austin to lobby for the game law to be amended in the

special session of the legislature to prevent quail from being shipped from Texas for any reason.[41]

Advertising for the Trilingual Summary of the 1903 Game Law Distributed by the *Texas Field and Sportsman*

W.X. Carter did not have a valid collecting permit. However, as investigation of his case continued, Charles Payne from Wichita, Kansas, appeared at Floresville claiming that Carter was supplying him with quail for propagation purposes and that the legality of his activities could be verified by T.S. Palmer of the Biological Survey. When notified, Palmer refused to endorse Payne and denounced his activities as an evasion of the statutes. Payne then admitted that he was only a middleman and that he did not know what happened to the quail after they were resold.

In San Antonio, the continuing investigation of Will and Freeman Carter revealed that their collecting permit had been issued based on the recommendations of two "well-known" scientists, A.W. Conklin and A. Rahman, both of New York City. Inquiries into the identities of these two "scientists" revealed that Conklin was a minor employee at Central Park whereas Rahman was never found at all. Thus, it was determined that the Carters had obtained their permit fraudulently.

All of the confiscated correspondence of Will and Freeman Carter was published with appropriate commentary in *Texas Field and Sportsman*.[42] So enraged were the local sportsmen that about twenty-five of them gathered in San Antonio on March 30, 1906, to organize the Texas Game Protective Association. Officers of the new association were John J. Stevens, president; O. C. Guessaz, secretary; and Henning Bruhn, treasurer. At a second meeting on May 9, members resolved to ask the Secretary of Agriculture to investigate the applications of all other collectors then holding Texas permits.[43] Will and Freeman Carter were finally brought to trial after being held in jail for almost 2-1/2 months. Both men pled guilty and were assessed court costs and jail time.[44]

The protective association formed in San Antonio was intended to be the nucleus around which local associations would form in various parts of the state. In October 1906, *Texas Field and Sportsman* reported that protective associations had been formed in Harrison County and at Tyler, but the Texas Game Protective Association that was organized in 1906 gradually died away due to a lack of support.

Use of Live Birds as Targets

Target shooting of live birds had been a tradition with Texas sportsmen since the first trapshooting clubs were organized in the 1870s. "Pigeons" [presumably passenger pigeons] were originally used, but their unavailability in later years necessitated the use of other species such as the Rock Pigeon,

Common Grackle, Yellow-headed Blackbird, and Red-winged Blackbird.[45]

Texas sportsmen were aware that many humane societies opposed the use of live birds for trapshooting. They were also aware, however, that the Criminal District Court of New Orleans had ruled that it was not cruelty to animals, nor was it a violation of the law for sportsmen to shoot pigeons.[46]

Enormous numbers of birds were killed in the annual shoots of the State Sportsmen's Association. 5,000 pigeons were slaughtered in the 1880 shoot at Dallas. In 1882 another 5,000 pigeons were imported from Sparta, Wisconsin, for the shoot at Austin. The 1883 shoot at Lampasas featured 4,000 pigeons in addition to 3,000 clay pigeons and glass balls. Only 800 blackbirds were used at the 1884 shoot in Gainesville but as late as 1891, 6,000 pigeons were used at the annual shoot in San Antonio.[47]

Inanimate targets, such as blue rocks, and "clay pigeons," were used by gun clubs as the years passed. This change may have been due, in part, to the difficulty and expense of obtaining live birds. The accurate downing of a live bird, however, was still acclaimed the ultimate evidence of competence. The February 1904 cover of *Texas Field and Sportsman* proclaimed that Turner Hubby had won the Sunny South Handicap at Brenham by killing fifty-three live birds without a single miss.

What finally prompted the State Sportsmen's Association to stop the use of live birds is unknown. In 1906 over 800 birds were used at the state shoot, although it was noted that they were an inferior lot providing poor sport. At the business meeting held at the end of the tournament, a resolution was unanimously approved to discontinue the shooting of live birds.[48] The following year, as a substitute, the state association contracted with the Dickey Bird Target and Trap Company for the use of traps and service.[49] The discontinuance of live bird shooting by the state association in 1906 was a landmark decision, but it did not stop the practice of local clubs. In fact, the practice has continued into recent times; the Houston Gun Club still holds weekly live pigeon shoots.[50]

Renewal of the 1903 Game Law

The game law of 1903, enacted for a five-year period, was scheduled to expire on July 1, 1908. Since the legislature would not meet until January 1909, the state would be without a game law unless an extension was provided by the legislature convening in 1907. Although no one believed that the law would be allowed to lapse, it was a time of uncertainty and concern was at a high level. In fact, due to lax or nonexistent enforcement of the law, market hunters were still active, as evidenced by the discovery at San Antonio in January 1907 that three barrels marked "Fish" actually contained 600 ducks consigned to a Chicago Restaurant.[51]

Enforcement of the existing law was a major issue and, in the spring of 1906, C. W. Connally, a sportsman from Cuero, circulated a petition requesting that the next legislature appoint a state game commissioner who, in turn, could appoint wardens in each county. Salaries and expenses of these wardens would be paid from the revenue derived from licensing both resident and nonresident hunters. Oscar Guessaz supported Connally's efforts and asked that

sportsmen throughout the state sign and distribute the petition.[52]

Captain Mervyn Bathurst Davis, secretary of the Texas Audubon Societies, was the mastermind of the strategy that eventually developed for renewal of the game law. Davis had been in Texas for over thirty years, had been one of the founders of the earliest game protective association in the state, and was a highly respected protectionist.[53] In a press release from Waco on January 12, 1907, a joint committee consisting of Davis, Alfred Abeel, and H. M. Minier announced that a special Bird and Game Conference would soon be held in Austin. A second release by the joint committee set the meeting dates of the conference for January 24 and 25, and an invitation was extended to all persons interested in the protection of game.[54]

During the conference M.B. Davis, H.P. Attwater, Oscar Guessaz, Frank P. Holland, J.H. Connell, C. Taylor Cade, and Hugh Jackson were appointed to draft recommendations that would be presented to the legislature. Guessaz and Davis had worked together since early 1905 and a close rapport had developed between the two old hunters who had participated in the "slaughter [of] the buffalo in the days of long ago." Repenting this transgression, they now worked together to save the remaining wildlife of Texas. Guessaz was so impressed with the work of the older man that he spoke of Davis as "making two birds grow where scarcely one grew before" and, in a further expression of respect, he intimated that Davis was always a welcome guest in the councils of the sportsmen.[55] How different it might have been if these two men had viewed each other as antagonists, rather than comrades engaged in a mutual struggle!

The Game Law Committee appointed at Austin recommended that the 1903 law be re-enacted without any major changes. It also recommended that both resident and nonresident hunters be licensed, and that the revenue be used for propagation and enforcement, with the enforcement division located in the Fish and Oyster Commission.[56] The Legislature of 1907 accepted the major recommendations of the committee. The 1903 law was reaffirmed and a license for nonresidents was required. Residents were allowed to continue hunting without a license. The game warden bill introduced by Representative Henry B. Terrell of McLennan County also passed and the enforcement division assigned to the Game, Fish and Oyster Commission. In August 1907 Robert W. Lorance, a newspaperman from San Angelo, was appointed head of the law enforcement division. Lorance was soon about his business, publishing in *Texas Field and Sportsman* a detailed account of the powers and duties of deputy game wardens.[57]

Licensing and Enforcement, 1908-1915

In July 1908 the State Sportsmen's Association pledged to work with the Audubon Society for a more satisfactory opening date for dove season, and T. E. Hubby agreed to be the liaison with the legislature on this matter. Violations of the game law were a major problem and the association agreed to work for better enforcement.[58] Since additional revenue was needed to help pay for enforcement, sportsmen continued to lobby for a resident hunting license. To bring these matters to the attention of the legislature, *Texas Field and*

Sportsman provided a tear-out petition for readers to sign and circulate. Guessaz also encouraged the farmers to see to it that the law protecting songbirds was enforced since several species were known to eat boll weevils.[59]

The licensing of resident hunters was finally achieved in 1909 when the law was amended to require a license when not hunting in the county of residence, adjacent counties, or on land owned by the hunter. A serious deficiency in the 1909 law was that it did not provide a season for ducks, geese, pigeons, plover, snipe, curlew, or robins, which could be killed at a rate of twenty-five per day at any time of the year. Neither did the law extend protection to such useful birds as hawks, owls, and vultures.

Many species of birds and game animals continued to decline in spite of the priority given to licensing and enforcement. There was still no adequate revenue to provide wardens where they were needed, and in many places the law was not enforced at all. So serious was the situation that there was talk of legislating a closed season on all game and fish. To forestall this drastic and unacceptable remedy, Game, Fish and Oyster Commissioner W. G. Sterrett requested that sportsmen again take the initiative in protecting the wildlife of Texas.[60]

Late in May 1912 a news release from the Associated Press announced that a sportsmen's convention would be held in conjunction with the state shoot in Waco to form an organization for the protection and propagation of game and fish. At the first meeting on May 20, W. Gingrich Jones presented letters of support from 300 prominent Texans. Philip S. Farnham, Special Agent of the American Game Protective and Propagation Association, provid-

Texas Field and National Guardsman,
November 1911

ed advisory guidelines, and M.B. Davis assured the group of the continuing support of the Audubon Society.[61] At the meeting of the delegates on May 21, the name Texas Game Protective Association was chosen for the organization. Officers elected at this time included W. Gingrich Jones of Temple, president; Jack Ray of Waco, vice-president; Dr. Frank Kent of San Antonio, secretary; and Turner Hubby of Waco, treasurer. A Board of Directors of prominent citizens from around the state was chosen to act in an advisory capacity.[62]

Oscar Guessaz, patriarch of the sportsmen's conservation movement, was the featured speaker at the convention. Guessaz first reminisced about the role sportsmen had played in stopping market hunting and then requested that the association place a priority on removing W.L. Moody from the game-selling business in Texas. In conclusion, Guessaz pleaded for enforcement of the law and for emphasizing the propagation of endangered species. Several people then delivered brief comments, including Jack Ray, who spoke eloquently of the need for sportsmen to protect and propagate birds.[63]

In the fall of 1912, the directors of the protective association met with Game Commissioner Sterrett to formulate recommendations for the next legislature. Key provisions included reduced bag limits on doves, quail, ducks, geese, and jacksnipe; elimination of a spring season on ducks, geese, plover, and shore birds; prohibiting the killing of song and insectivorous birds; and requiring permits for museums and scientific societies to collect, transport, and breed wild turkeys and prairie chickens. Additional requirements dealt with licensing, prohibiting the shooting of game by agents of hotels and restaurants, and setting aside a special appropriation for game farms and refuges.[64]

The recommendations that were delivered to the House Game Law Committee in January 1913 were enthusiastically received. In fact, the committee was so eager that it tacked on several additional amendments, some of which were unacceptable even to the sportsmen, e.g., closing quail season for two years and banning automatic and pump shotguns and automatic rifles. These objectionable amendments were passed by the house in the closing days of the regular session, but were mercifully killed by the senate, much to the relief of most game protectors.[65]

When the Texas Game Protective Association met in Temple in May 1913, its major order of business was to re-think its position with regard to the crisis at hand. Knowing that the legislature was soon to be called into a special session, and that it was not likely to reconsider the recommendations previously tendered, a new set of greatly abbreviated proposals was drawn up and submitted to Governor O.B. Colquitt.[66] W. Gingrich Jones was optimistic that the desired amendments could be obtained in the special session. However, when the legislature met in July 1913 it failed to enact any game legislation and it was not until 1915 that the desired season was obtained for doves and the bag limit was reduced on quail.

EPILOGUE

The amendments passed in 1915 were the last significant changes in the game law for several years and it seemed that the conservation movement had

lost its momentum. The only hope of sportsmen during this time was that the money from the sale of licenses would eventually be used to hire sufficient wardens to adequately enforce the laws then existing. Then, with an attitude of utter disregard, the legislature of 1921 diverted the entire license fund of nearly $100,000 to other purposes.[67] In this face of this financial setback and declining game populations across the state, the conservation movement again sprang to life. In June 1922 the Texas Game and Fish League was formed at Houston to protect the interests of wildlife and, in 1923, the legislature used the entire license fund to hire wardens.[68] Thus with the legislative decision to fund law enforcement adequately, the conservation movement entered a new era.

Oscar Guessaz's enthusiasm for conservation began to fade in his later years. Following the Spanish-American War, Guessaz held several positions in the Texas National Guard and in 1913 was appointed a Brigadier-General. After 1913 he devoted more time to military affairs and less to conservation issues. During World War I, Guessaz served as a colonel in the 141st Infantry, 36th Division. When discharged for health reasons, he volunteered for the United States Guard and was commissioned a major. He died on January 16, 1925, in San Antonio and was buried in the national cemetery.[69]

Turner Hubby was one of the old guard who managed to outlive the original movement. Always an avid sportsman-conservationist, he was appointed Game, Fish and Oyster Commissioner for 1925 and 1926. During his tenure as commissioner over 1,250,000 acres of land were set aside as game refuges not to be hunted for a period of ten years.[70] After retiring as game commissioner, Hubby returned to Waco, where he became active in political life and was killed in a hunting accident in 1932.[71]

NOTES

Acknowledgement: This study was made possible by a summer development leave granted by the University of Mary Hardin-Baylor.

[1]T. Gilbert Pearson, "Fifty Years of Bird Protection in the United States," pp. 199-249, in American Ornithologists' Union, *Fifty Years' Progress in American Ornithology, 1883-1933* (Lancaster, Pennsylvania, 1933).

[2]"A game law," *Nueces Valley* (Corpus Christi), December 19, 1857, p. 2. The proposed law was tabled and did not reach the floor of the legislature.

[3]*Austin Statesman*, May 16, 1877, p. 4.

[4]"The shooting tournament," *Galveston Daily News*, May 8, 1879, p. 1.

[5]S.D. Casto, "Conservation of birds in Texas (1844-1916)," *Bulletin Texas Ornithological Society*, 5(1972), pp. 2-4.

[6]City directories of St. Louis, Missouri, 1875-1884.

[7]The San Antonio city directories for 1885-1906 list Guessaz as proprietor of *The Times*, correspondent of *Forest and Stream*, and editor of *Texas Field*. The *San Antonio Daily Times* for May 15, 1889, p. 7 carries an advertisement for the *Texas Field*.

[8]"Protect the game," *Galveston Daily News*, February 24, 1890, p. 8.

[9]"Protect the game," *Galveston Daily News*, February 24, 1890, p. 8.

[10]Accounts of the 1890 convention are found in the *Waco Daily News*, May 6, 1890, p. 8; May 7, 1890, p. 8; May 8, 1890, p. 4.

[11]"There appears to be game here," *Forest and Stream*, 39(1892), p. 510; "Texas game inter-

ests," *Forest and Stream*, 42 (1894), p. 249; "Protection in Texas," *Forest and Stream*, 47 (1896), p. 226.

[12]"To protect the birds," *Dallas Morning News*, May 28, 1896, p. 5.

[13]Accounts of the 1896 convention in the *Dallas Morning News*, September 5, 1896, p. 9; *San Antonio Daily Express*, September 6, 1896, p. 4; and *Galveston Daily News*, September 6, 1896, p. 1.

[14]*Galveston Daily News*, November 9, 1896, p. 6.

[15]"For game protection," *San Antonio Daily Express*, January 22, 1897, p. 5.

[16]"Rockport budget," *San Antonio Daily Express*, May 16, 1897, p. 14.

[17]"Retirement of Brigadier-General Roy W. Hearne, and appointment of Col. O.C. Guessaz to command the Texas Brigade," *Texas Field and National Guardsman*, August 1913, pp. 428-430.

[18]"Annual meeting," *San Antonio Daily Express*, May 20, 1902, p. 5.

[19]Lake Surprise is described by Forest W. McNeir. *Forest McNeir of Texas* (San Antonio, 1956), p. 74.

[20] Abstract of all original Texas land titles comprising grants and locations to August 31, 1941 [Chambers County, p. 129].

[21]"Moody's duck farm," *San Antonio Daily Express*, February 2, 1894, p. 4; "Moody and his ducks," *San Antonio Daily Express*, February 18, 1894, p. 14.

[22]*San Antonio Daily Express*, February 18, 1894, p. 14.

[23]"To protect fish and game," *San Antonio Daily Express*, September 6, 1896, p. 4.

[24]McNeir, *Forest McNeir of Texas*, pp. 79, 80, and 83.

[25]"Wild ducks and geese," *Austin Statesman*, February 25, 1903, p. 4.

[26]"The poor epicure," *Texas Field and Sportsman*, October 1903, pp. 476-477.

[27]O.C. Guessaz, "To sportsmen," *Texas Field and Sportsman*, December 1904 [insert and petition]. "The big pot hunter," *Texas Field and Sportsman*, October 1904, pp. 444-445.

[28]O.C. Guessaz, "To sportsmen," *Texas Field and Sportsman*, December 1904 [insert].

[29]"State association to protect game and fish in this state," *Waco Daily Times-Herald*, May 22, 1912, p. 5.

[30]F.L. Denison, "Plea of the sportsman," *Waco Daily Times-Herald*, January 2, 1903, p. 8.

[31]"The duty of a sportsman," *Texas Field and Sportsman*, June 1903, p. 241.

[32]W. Weiss, "A new game law," *Texas Field and Sportsman*, August 1904, p. 345.

[33]"The game law is being violated by many," *Texas Field and Sportsman*, August 1904, p. 356.

[34]"Game law violations," *Texas Field and Sportsman*, October 1904, pp. 441-442.

[35]"For the legislature," *Texas Field and Sportsman*, December 1904, pp. 547-548; "Let the law stand," *Texas Field and Sportsman*, January 1905, pp. 1-7; "The value of game," *Texas Field and Sportsman*, January 1905, p. 11.

[36]"The game law," *Texas Field and Sportsman*, February 1905, p. 52.

[37]"Business session held," *Waco Daily Times-Herald*, April 20, 1905, p. 5.

[38]"Have trapped quails," *San Antonio Daily Express*, March 18, 1906, p. 42.

[39]"A big scheme," *Texas Field and Sportsman*, March-April 1906, pp. 18-22.

[40]"Permits to trap quails were legally issued," *San Antonio Daily Express*, March 22, 1906, p. 12.

[41]"The quail trapping cases at Floresville," *Texas Field and Sportsman*, March-April 1906, pp. 16-17; "Wilson County sheriff arrests quail trapper," *San Antonio Daily Express*, March 23, 1906, p. 12.

[42]*Texas Field and Sportsman*, March-April 1906, pp. 18-22; May 1906, pp. 57-62 and 83; June 1906, pp. 133-134; July 1906, p. 170; August 1906, pp. 269-271.

[43]"Sportsmen organize to protect game," *San Antonio Daily Express*, March 31, 1906, p. 12;

"Meeting of the Texas Game Protective Association," *Texas Field and Sportsman*, May 1906, p. 84.

[45]"Quail Cases are settled," *San Antonio Daily Express*, June 2, 1906, p. 10.

[46]S.D. Casto, "The market hunting of Texas birds," *Bulletin Texas Ornithological Society*, 16(1983), pp. 2-15.

[47]"Pigeon shooting," *San Antonio Daily Express*, June 2, 1906, p. 10.

[48]*Galveston Daily News*, May 15, 1880, p. 1; May 26, 1882, p. 1; July 17, 1883, p. 4; Fort *Worth Gazette*, May 8, 1884, p. 4; *San Antonio Express*, May 11, 1891, p. 3.

[49]"State sportsman's association," *Texas Field and Sportsman*, May 1906, p. 71.

[50]"State shoot at Mexia," *Texas Field and Sportsman*, April 1907, pp. 153-157.

[51]"Houston gun club resumes live-pigeon shoots," *Killeen Daily Herald*, February 17, 1985, p. 8-C.

[52]*Texas Field and Sportsman*, February 1907, p. 16.

[53]"A meritorious movement," *Texas Field and Sportsman*, March-April 1906, p. 23.

[54]S.D. Casto, "Captain M.B. Davis' war to save the bird life of Texas," *Bulletin Texas Ornithological Society*, 17(1984), pp. 2-12.

[55]"For birds and game, address to law makers," *Waco Daily times-Herald*, January 14, 1907, p. 5; "Game law conference," Waco *Times-Herald*, January 19, 1907, p. 5.

[56]"The friend of the birds," *Texas Field and Sportsman*, April 1908, p. 169.

[57]"Report of the game law committee," *Texas Field and Sportsman*, February 1907, pp. 33-34.

[58]"Deputy game wardens – their powers and duties," *Texas Field and Sportsman*, October 1907, pp. 550-551.

[59]"Annual state trap tournament," *Texas Field and Sportsman*, August 1908, pp. 403-406.

[60]"The birds to protect," *Texas Field and Sportsman*, October 1908, pp. 514-517.

[61]"State game protective association," *Waco Daily Times-Herald*, May 20, 1912, p. 3.

[62]"Will organize this evening," *Waco Daily Times-Herald*, May 21, 1912, p. 12.

[63]"State association to protect game and fish in this state," *Waco Daily Times-Herald*, May 22, 1912, p. 12.

[64]"State association to protect game and fish in this state," *Waco Daily Times-Herald*, May 22, 1912, p. 12; also see "For better protection," *Texas Field and National Guardsman*, June 1912, pp. 441-443.

[65]"Texas game protective association," *Texas Field and National Guardsman*, November 1912, p. 723.

[66]"President's address," *Texas Field and National Guardsman*, August 1913, pp. 391-395.

[67]"Texas game protective association," *Texas Field and National Guardsman*, June 1913, p. 289.

[68]*Review of Texas Wild Life and Conservation*, Texas Game, Fish and Oyster Commission, 1929, p. 89.

[69]*Review Texas Wild Life and Conservation*, pp. 89-90. "Wildlife protection is advocated by new fish and game league," *Dallas Morning News*, June 18, 1922, p. 13.

[70]"Brig. Gen. Guessaz, Spanish War vet dead," *San Antonio Express*, January 18, 1925, p. 11.

[71]*Review of Texas Wild Life and Conservation*, Texas Game Fish, and Oyster Commission, 1929, pp. 90, 95-96.

[72]"Former game chief is slain on hunt," *Houston Post*, October 12, 1932, p. 1.

JOHN PERRYMAN AND BILL HUNTER: BIG THICKET WOODSMEN OF A BYGONE ERA

By J. Armand Lanier

"How 'ya Gonna Keep 'em Down on the Farm? (After They've Seen Paree)."[1]

However appropriate this WWI epigrammatic song title was for other veterans in an agrarian society, it did not describe John Perryman and Bill Hunter. Their post-war choice of environment was the Big Thicket's wonder and quiet: they became full-time fishermen, hunters, and trappers. And just as their post-war life-choices belied this song's prognostication, so too did their pre-war education and experience hardly suggest a life in the woods.

My earliest memories of John Perryman, my maternal uncle, resulted from our Perryman family reunions of 1929 and 1930. At the first of these, after visiting briefly with my grandfather and other relatives at Spurger, we proceeded to my Aunt Carrie Jordan's farmhouse in the nearby Beech Creek community. All of this area, along with Perryman and Hunter's camp, was included in the "Ecological Area" of the Big Thicket, which extended north of Woodville, Jasper, and Wiergate.[2]

At Aunt Carrie's house, where we spent the night, my twelve-year-old eyes were opened wide. The house was without screens, had no indoor plumbing, newspapers covered the walls for insulation, and there was no running water. Early the next morning, the men went hunting, and soon returned with plenty of squirrels for breakfast. It tasted good, but I do remember biting down on several shotgun pellets.

Later that day, proceeding to my Uncle John's camp, I remember the thick woods and his open-fire pot of "hunter's stew;" but most of all, I remember his sisters' plethora of pies and cakes. Then Uncle John asked if I'd like to run traps with him. How many traps we checked I don't remember – except one. Out in a clearing was this steel fox trap, and in it remained only part of a fox's leg, chewed off at the thigh. Explaining the obvious, Uncle John said he had delayed his run too long. I must have been impressed by the sight, as this was seventy-five years ago.

My second visit to John's camp (1930) was less impressive. I remember little beyond sleeping all night on a branch sandbar with several young cousins. It looked so soft, but felt like a concrete floor as the night wore on. Adding to my misery was an invasion of sand flies that bit mercilessly.

Perryman and Hunter's "Neches River-bottom" subsistence (from the early 1920s until 1954) covered a changing era. The beginning of their stint may well be viewed as a continuation of the nineteenth-century practice of frontiersmen "living off the land" by hunting, fishing, and trapping under the free-range policy. Toward the mid-twentieth century, however, there were increasing encroachments upon squatters and river-hermits generally. Lumber

J. Armand Lanier lives in Austin, Texas.

companies and other big landowners continued their selective deforestation, and at the same time began fencing and converting property for commercial hunters. Then in 1947, with the beginning of construction on Dam B, further ecological changes evolved. These and other impingements, while gradual, directly impacted aquatic and mammalian populations – and presumably, the livelihood of Perryman and Hunter. [3]

John Perryman was born in Town Bluff, Tyler County, Texas on the Neches River in 1890, his family having settled there before the Civil War. Later, he moved to Spurger, Texas, a Big Thicket community of fewer than 500, some eight miles south of his birthplace. In Spurger, Perryman's father owned and operated a general store that housed the local post office. Here, Perryman graduated from the local school (nine grades?), clerked in his father's store and in-house post office, and subsequently completed the bookkeeping curriculum of a Beaumont business college. Overall, a rather exceptional education for that time and place.[4]

Perryman seemed well on his way toward a career in business or the white-collar world. Not unexpectedly, he soon found employment in Beaumont as bookkeeper with Keith Lumber Company, in whose employ he remained for a time before his WWI enlistment.[5]

William I. (Bill) Hunter, Perryman's lifelong friend and woods partner, was born in 1892, in Tyler County, Texas, also.[6] His father, Professor Percy I. Hunter, taught in the Spurger school, as did Percy's wife, Duck Lyons Hunter, and their daughter, Cecil Hunter Bergeron. Professor Hunter also headed up the Spurger Summer Normal School in the 1890s and again after 1910. With his Master of Arts from the University of North Carolina, he was thought to be the only teacher in Tyler County with a college degree.[7] In the early 1900s, Professor Hunter removed his family to Jasper, Texas where he was president of the Southeast Texas Male and Female College, and later, Jasper's first Superintendent of Schools.[8] After 1910, he became superintendent of the Woodville public schools.[9]

Given the Hunter family's history and professional bent, it is not surprising to learn of Bill Hunter's own pursuit of advanced learning. For the year 1910-1911, he was enrolled as a freshman in the University of Texas at Austin with records showing graduation from Jasper's Southeast Texas Male and Female College.[10]

Despite their propitious backgrounds, however, the career plans of Perryman and Hunter were cut short by WWI when both joined the armed forces – Perryman the Navy and Hunter the Army.[11] But by 1920 the two men were again living in the Spurger area. Perryman lived with his parents and worked as a "general merchandise salesman" in his father's store, and Hunter boarded nearby on Town Bluff Road and was employed as a "bank bookkeeper." Both employments proved brief, however. Each man was restless and dissatisfied with his job. One day, hoping to relieve their frustrations, they decided to go fishing: their choice, a site in the Neches River bottom near Spurger. So liberating was this experience that they forthwith chose a life in the woods.

By the early 1920s, they were firmly ensconced in a river-bottom shack, their residence for the next thirty years. Neither Perryman nor Hunter ever married.[12]

Their campsite of choice, and the abandoned two-room, run-down shack they expropriated, happened to be on their friend Bill Letney's property. Fortunately, Letney readily consented to their use of both. This is not to say, however, that Perryman and Hunter's fishing, hunting, and trapping excursions were necessarily limited to Letney's property, as the open-range policy for this area was widely prevalent at that time.[13]

More definitively, the camp was located in the Neches River bottom of Tyler County some three miles northeast of Spurger, or approximately seven miles south of the present Town Bluff Dam. County Road 4420 is their old campsite's current access. Therefore, their hunting and fishing region encompassed that area of the Big Thicket now designated as the "Upper Neches River Corridor Unit."[14]

Blanche Potts, Perryman's youngest sister, visited his camp frequently. Once after being exposed to too much sun from a boat ride, he told her to apply Pet's canned milk to her burns; and because she had also gone barefooted, he prescribed washing her feet with alcohol to prevent ground itch. In commenting on John and Bill's style of operation, Blanche explained that while longtime close friends, they nevertheless kept all their records and gear separate – even cooking separately, though John made biscuits for both.[15]

For most of his camp life, John Perryman had several sisters living in the Spurger and Hillister areas. Among these, however, it was Carrie Perryman Jordan to whom he was closest. Likewise, it was her children who have provided the major firsthand impressions of their Uncle John for this paper.

Donna Jordan Mize (b. 1920), John Perryman's niece, has affirmed that John's parents and siblings were all devout Missionary Baptists in the Spurger community. A fundamentalist church, the Missionary Baptists stood firm in their principles of teetotalism along with other strict tenets against gambling, card playing, and Sabbath-breaking. Donna also recounted how John would bring her mother, Carrie, clothes to mend and launder, and at times raccoons and opossums to bake, the latter of which she refused. Donna said John had beautiful handwriting and was very good at math. He was also a faithful Mason, having served as treasurer for the Spurger Chapter to offset his fees.[16]

Herschel C. Jordan (b. 1931), recalled this incident involving alcohol. A younger brother of John's, Jack Perryman, had extended his Thicket culture through employment as a statewide traveling salesman. Now wise in worldly ways, he would visit John and Bill's camp occasionally. On one such visit, stopping first at his sister Carrie's house and not finding her at home, he had forthwith deposited his pack of beer (intended for John and Bill) in her icebox and left on an errand. Meanwhile, Carrie, having returned home unexpectedly, found the beer, and with righteous disgust, poured out each bottle in the yard.[17]

As implied above, both John and Bill imbibed, but as Henry E. Sawyer (b. 1938), a hunting companion put it, their drinking "was never out-of-the-

way." Sawyer, whose parents operated the nearby Works Bluff Ferry, grew up close to John and Bill's camp. As a teenager he would "hang around," and at times took their grocery lists to town. According to Sawyer, John and Bill were neat, clean, and well liked by townspeople. Bill was brilliant, well educated, and nice to talk to. "When Bill spoke, John listened." John and Bill played a lot of dominoes in camp. John smoked cigars (Sawyer wondered how he paid for them), chewed Tinsley tobacco, and took it out in perfectly rounded little balls. Sawyer added that quite a few people visited John and Bill's camp.[18]

That John and Bill were somewhat less gracious toward "outside" visitors than toward neighboring hunters. I can attest to myself. I know that Jack, John's younger brother, was wont to bring fellow Dallas and St. Louis businessmen to see this "unique" Big Thicket camp. Beyond the obvious relational and cultural hurdles, there would have been an associated disruption of camp routines, and especially a drain on food and resources. Knowing Jack's outgoing nature, however, I'm sure that in his case the camp was well compensated.

Regarding the above matter, another of John's nephews, J. Douglas Swearingen (b. 1922) averred, "I know for sure, if you wanted to fish or hunt with them, you were expected to bring food and supplies."[19]

Jack Sheffield (b. 1930), who hunted often with John and Bill, described Bill as "laid back." "They naturally lived isolated lives. Neither one had any social life."[20]

Rebecca McClain Montgomery (b.1942) grew up in Spurger and was well acquainted with both John and Bill. She explained that as a child she was very close to her father, and would "tag along with him" at every chance she got. On many occasions she went with him to John and Bill's camp, and still has vivid pictures in her mind's eye of the camp shack and its contents. She remembered that after John's death, Bill – who along with her daddy was a great baseball fan – would come to their house to watch baseball on black-and-white television with him. And they were not to be disturbed! Rebecca thought John and Bill probably drank a lot with their buddies, Herschel McClain and Miles Jordan. Bill's typical dress, she remembered, was rubber boots with khaki pants and shirt; John's was overalls. Their old abandoned two-room shack was really not fit for habitation, Rebecca said. Each partner had his own side of the bedroom. Regarding the old beat-up car they owned, John alone did the driving, Bill having no license at the time. Rebecca saw our subjects as crusty in manner, unkempt, smelly – not the kind of people you would want to visit with, not active in society, staying to themselves. On the other hand, they were not troublemakers, never ran afoul of the law, and never bothered anybody. And John was treasurer of Eastern Star.[21]

Carrie's oldest boy, the late Richard (Dick) M. Jordan (b.1922), recalled John Perryman's staying with them at times in the dead of winter, apparently to escape the cold of his dilapidated cabin. Dick was also well acquainted with Bill Hunter, having stayed at the camp on several occasions. Bill was quiet, according to Dick, but a fine man, and very smart. John loved to listen to base-

ball and Amos and Andy on the Jordan's battery radio. Dick never knew John or Bill to drink. John was good in math, real good![22]

After considerable search, I located and interviewed two of Bill Hunter's nephews: his namesake, William Burton Hunter (b. 1936), and James H. Bergeron (b. 1926).

As a child, William B. Hunter had gone with his father, John Reddick Hunter, to Bill's camp on two occasions. Later, after John Perryman's death in 1954, he remembered that the elder Bill Hunter's health had deteriorated, and his brother had taken him to the hospital, and then home to live with him in Kirbyville, Texas. When asked about his woodsman uncle's religious faith, William B. Hunter told me, "I don't know ... my family's not outspoken about such matters." I then asked about his Hunter family's attitude toward Bill's having turned woodsman: that is, whether they were critical of him at all. He was not aware of any adverse criticism in this respect.[23]

James H. Bergeron (b.1926), another nephew of Bill Hunter, was more familiar with John and Bill, having first visited Bill at camp as a child. Since then, he had hunted and fished many times with both. He considered them "reliable men." James was especially drawn to John Perryman whom he liked a lot. Bill wasn't easy to get along with, but he was definitely the leader of the two. He was quiet, and a good talker. John was a drinker and smoker. Bill didn't drink much. When asked what his mother and her family thought of Bill's life in the woods, James replied, "Well, you know my uncle [John Reddick Hunter] drove to the camp regularly from Kirbyville to check on Bill after his partner, John Perryman, died. On finding Bill sick on his last visit, he took him to the State [mental] Hospital at Rusk, and then to Kirbyville to live with him." [This, he assumed, had answered my question.] Finally, James knew both Bill and John to have received small, WWI pensions later in life, though they had resisted such aid earlier.[24]

For the 1920s and 30s (the first two decades of John and Bill's undertaking), few firsthand reports exist of the type and prevalence of mammals in their camp vicinity. Therefore, for further documentation of such species, we must turn to the research of others – if not for animals in John and Bill's specific location, at least for the Big Thicket generally. David Schmidly's *Texas Natural History, A Century of Change*, is one such key source.[25] This work conveniently incorporates the earlier twentieth century species distributions from Vernon Bailey's volume, *Biological Survey of Texas* (1905). We are also indebted to a related work by Davis and Schmidly, *The Mammals of Texas* (1994),[26] that documents mammalian populations for the latter half of the twentieth century. From these and other references we can reasonably extrapolate to the target animals of woodsmen, John and Bill, for the 1920s and 30s.

Having perused Bailey's (1905) survey in the above source, I find pertinent references to the following pelt and furbearing animals at the turn of the nineteenth century for Tyler County, or to the Big Thicket East Texas area, generally.

opossum	bobcat	raccoon
white-tailed deer	red fox	otter
squirrel	gray fox	mink
beaver	black bear	skunk
rabbit		

To determine population changes of these mammals for the latter half of the twentieth century, we have, as noted above, Davis and Schmidly's *Mammals of Texas* (1994), with its revised species distribution maps. Surprisingly, there appear to be but small changes in the distribution of the above species over the period in question with the exception of the black bear, which was extirpated in East Texas – even in the lower Big Thicket – by the latter half of the twentieth century. Species with reduced populations but still present for that period included the beaver, mink, and red fox.

Given these findings, we may conclude that the animals sought by John and Bill for furs or pelts over their thirty-year backwoods stint were among those highlighted above, with the exception of the black bear.

As a teenager, Dick Jordan (b. 1922) had hunted with his uncle, John Perryman, but only for squirrels. Dick recalled that early on he was made to know that shotgun shells were a precious commodity, and not to be wasted. If John and Bill had hunted deer at that time, he was not aware of it. Interestingly (and attesting to the importance of hunting dogs) Dick, without hesitation, and after some sixty-five years, knew that John's squirrel dog was named "Teddy," and Bill's, "Pooch."

As for trapping, Dick thought John and Bill targeted otter, beaver, mink, and gray fox. He knew of no red fox takes. Otter and beaver were rare; more common were mink, gray foxes, raccoons, and opossums. It was his opinion that some skins and furs were sold to John's father's general store, but more were sold to fur dealers who came up periodically from Beaumont. Mink, according to Dick, was one of the most profitable furs for John and Bill, bringing as much as twenty dollars apiece.[27]

Herschel Jordan (b. 1931), Dick's youngest brother, remembered that when he was a youngster a schoolteacher had boarded at his house. This teacher told him he would pay five cents for every raccoon he could catch. Herschel complied, and soon his mother was cooking raccoon for the teacher. According to Herschel, this teacher "loved armadillo meat," too, but whether Carrie obliged again, I did not learn.[28]

Henry Earl Sawyer (b. ca. 1938), had grown up near the river and close to John and Bill's camp, as related above. When asked what animals John and Bill had trapped, Sawyer replied, "mink, coon, and bobcat." He then added that despite John and Bill's general division of labor, they had hunted together. And Sawyer himself had hunted deer and fox with them, using dogs.[29]

Jack Sheffield (b. 1930), a Spurger resident, related that he had hunted often with John and Bill. He remembered that John used a twelve-gauge, single-barrel shotgun, and had a remarkable way of holding shells in his free fin-

gers, enabling him to reload and fire nearly as fast as a double-barrel.[30]

Jim F. Hicks (b. 1930) grew up in Spurger and lived "just across the creek" from John and Bill's camp. Residing in Kirbyville at present, he remembered both men well, and had hunted deer often with John, using John's dogs. Their hunting style was to spread out on "stands" and then to turn the dogs loose. The spoils of the kill were alternated, so that each hunter got choice pieces equally. And Jim remembered that if you missed a shot, a part of your shirttail was cut off. Jim had also hunted with Bill on deer drives. Bill, too, used a shotgun – no rifle. In addition, they hunted wild hogs some, using hog dogs. They had hog pens, and would pen wild and tame ones together. In this way the feral hogs would gradually become tame. Permission to hunt on private land was not required in those days, as a policy of "open range" existed, both for cattle and hogs. When asked what other animals John and Bill hunted, Jim emphasized "squirrels," and then added "raccoons and possums." Regarding trapping, Jim related that John was the main trapper of the two. Jim remembered seeing many skins stretched out about the camp often. Such skins were sold to a man from Beaumont who came up from time to time for that purpose. Among John and Bill's takes, otter was number one, but he also mentioned mink (very profitable), and gray and red fox. When asked about beaver he answered, "Not many," adding that the timber companies had earlier hired beaver trappers for control purposes.[31]

Harvey Newman (b. 1926) had worked as a surveyor under Bill Hunter's younger brother, John Reddick Hunter. While Newman had been to John and Bill's camp on several occasions, he had not known them well. He remembered the camp as being on a high bluff, however, and thought it near Sheffield's Ferry. He also remembered that they trapped mink and raccoon, and that at one time raccoon skins were especially profitable.[32]

Darrell D. Shine (b. ca. 1931), another business associate of John Reddick Hunter, Bill's younger brother, had visited the camp in the early fifties. He knew John and Bill to have hunted deer at night, and said that they also hunted fox.[33]

The first of Bill Hunter's nephews that I succeeded in contacting for interview was William Burton Hunter (b. 1936), the elder Bill's namesake. His childhood impression had been that Bill and John did more trapping and fishing than hunting.[34]

Another nephew of Bill Hunter whom I interviewed was James H. Bergeron (b. 1926). James had hunted and fished many times with his uncle, and knew him to have hunting dogs. He remembered the names of two of Bill's squirrel dogs: "Poochie" and "Big Boy." Bill hunted squirrels often, and did some deer and fox hunting at night, but deer were often scarce. In addition, he had dogs trained to hunt deer and fox interchangeably. In the winter, Bill and John trapped, trying for mink but taking mostly raccoons.[35]

Fishing

As every trot liner must know, it's the anticipatory thrill of the next run's catch that really keeps him going. Will tomorrow bring the big one? Although this type of anticipation may have paled somewhat for John and Bill after years of productive fishing, in no way were they prepared for their catch of April 1, 1940. For background on this story we go to Nida A. Marshall's account in her book, *The Jasper Journal.*

> On a nice spring day in March two young men ... walked into the Kirbyville State Bank, drew their guns ... scooped up silver and currency and sped away in a Nash sedan.
>
> It was Thursday, March 28, 1940 ... .
>
> As the pair drove away, Reldon Huffman, operator of a filling station across the street ... fired two shots at them. One ... punctured a rear tire ... . Within forty minutes the abandoned car had been found ... about eight miles southwest of Kirbyville. Loaded with camping equipment, the car, officers speculated, had been headed for the Big Thicket.
>
> Early the next morning near the little town of Fred, just across the Neches River in Tyler County, somebody saw a young man crawl from inside a culvert and head toward the home of Sam Wright . Officers were notified and [the young man was] ... brought in handcuffs to the Jasper County Jail ... . Then he proceeded to tell this unlikely story ... . They [had] decided to swim the Neches River over to Tyler County and get lost on the other side. Not having time to divide up the loot, his partner had wrapped the money in his jacket and tied it around his neck.
>
> The Neches was swifter than [they] had figured ... . James Stokes made it across, but ... his ill-fated partner ... got into deep trouble and drowned ... .
>
> Four days later, ... four Tyler County fishermen – Dick Gregory and Clyde Spurlock of Fred and John Perryman and Bill Hunter of Spurger, were running their trot lines when they made the gruesome discovery of a man's hand caught on one of their hooks ... . A truck brought the body back to Jasper ... . Within three weeks of the robbery, Stokes [the dead man's partner] was en route to Huntsville, sentenced to seven years in prison.[36]

Marshall's story, at least in an abbreviated form, was well known to the Jordan family, and most other interviewees. By their reports, however, the body was discovered by John Perryman and Bill Hunter at their camp, with no mention of Spurlock or Gregory, the other fishermen.

Rebecca McClain Montgomery (b. 1942) recalled that while her father didn't fish himself, fish was a favorite dish of his. He insisted on buying live ones, however, which John and Bill always provided, either delivering them to his house in a foot tub or waiting for Rebecca's father to pick them up at their camp. Rebecca noted that John and Bill would bring live fish to town for sale fairly often. So it was that she thought of them as fishermen rather than hunters or trappers. Rebecca had vivid memories of the camp itself, as well as of John and Bill. Her father bought small fish, but she also knew John and Bill to have caught very large ones, one of which weighed more than 100 pounds.[37]

Dick Jordan (b. 1922) also noted that John and Bill sold live fish, adding "They kept them in cypress fish boxes." Ice was available in Spurger, but not

affordable. Dick had trot-lined several times with his Uncle John. He thought the building of Town Bluff Dam (1951) had an unfavorable impact on their fishing.[38]

Herschel C. Jordan (b. 1931) lived in Beech Creek and then Spurger before leaving home in 1951. Unlike his brothers, however, he was too young to serve in WWII, and so it is that we have his observations of our subjects over this wartime hiatus. Not only this, but Herschel's father, having rounded up his cattle from the "free range" and sold them during the war, had then moved his family to Spurger where he bought a small service station for Herschel to operate. From the end of the War until 1951, then, Herschel was not only physically closer to John and Bill but saw them regularly on their Spurger visits. Regarding fishing, Herschel knew John and Bill to have caught a catfish weighing slightly more than 100 pounds. He knew this from firsthand observation, having been there when they weighed it in. "It looked like a whale." In the opinion of Herschel, fishing was their main income.[39]

Earl Sawyer (b. 1938), knew John and Bill to have had separate cypress fishing boats and to fish separately. John would dig worms and catch live perch with which to bait his trotline. Earl related that John caught a forty-pound blue cat once, which he kept in a cypress fish box out in the water. Spurger townspeople came down to see it.[40]

Dick Jordan (b.1922) knew that John sold fish for school picnics, church fish fries, and Fourth of July celebrations. "It would not have been unusual for him to fill orders of 200 pounds for such occasions," he added. Dick knew his Uncle John to have fished up until the day he died.[41]

Since William Burton Hunter (b. 1936) had only been to his Uncle Bill and John's camp twice, and both times as a child, his memory of them was limited. He did spend the night in their cabin both times, however, and remembered his Uncle taking him in his little boat to bait his trotlines. And he definitely remembered the bait Bill used at the time – ivory soap – which must have been effective since they caught big catfish. His impression was that Bill and John did more trapping and fishing than hunting.[42]

James H. Bergeron (b. 1926), another nephew of Bill Hunter, lives currently in Bridge City, Texas and fished many times with John and Bill. He knew them on occasion to take fish to Woodville to sell [a new market to me]. They did fairly well, James said, until the illegal practice of "telephoning" became popular with outlaw fishermen. This procedure consisted of placing wires in the water from "hand crank" telephones with which to stun fish and make them surface – a practice that soon significantly reduced catfish populations for John and Bill and other legitimate fishermen.[43]

But John and Bill's saga would end abruptly. On November 13, 1954, John Perryman stopped by for a visit with his sister, Carrie, and her family in Spurger. On leaving, he climbed into his beat-up Model A coupe, pulled away from their house, slumped, and was dead of a heart attack at age sixty-four.[44]

Asked what happened to Bill after the loss of his partner, Dick replied,

"He grieved himself to death." While records show that dramatic lifestyle changes soon followed for Bill, together with a depressive illness requiring hospitalization, his demise did not occur until July 10, 1973.[45]

As is evident from their extended venture, John and Bill eked out a living at their chosen pursuit; although in John's case, not without considerable timely assistance from his sister, Carrie. On one occasion, she allowed him to grow an acre of potatoes on her place. In short, he was always treated as a beloved brother, with special care and concern.

As for Bill's family support, from the evidence at hand we can only surmise a similar concern. Most probative perhaps was Bill's brother, John Reddick Hunter's, careful watch over Bill's general health following his partner's death; and then, seeing no improvement, his moving Bill to Kirbyville to live with him.[46]

However, for some of us there are overriding questions that remain: why should such gifted and educated men opt for a river bottom subsistence? And why no family denigration? The first question we have already addressed, however naively, via family stories. The second remains an enigma for present-day observers. Perhaps close family ties, as described above, played a significant role. But I would proffer a cultural explanation as well. As implied by this paper's title, John and Bill's lifestyle was part of a vanishing era. The open-range policy, though still in effect at the end of their operation, was fading, and there were other encroachments such as the Town Bluff Dam construction (begun in 1947) and its ecological consequences.

The above circumstances serve to demarcate an earlier, long-standing epoch. As an example of that tradition, Truett and Lay cite woodsman Sol Wright as illustrative of the Thicket's late nineteenth-century-style frontiersmen who chose "hunting, fishing, and rambling" as their occupations. "In our time he might have come close to being called a ne'er-do-well."[47]

Author Blair Pittman also refers to this former style of life in describing what he calls "Dog People." These were descendants of early settlers of the Neches River bottom who had settled there shortly before the Civil War and continued their predecessors' style of living as hunters and fishermen for their own survival. They thought of the land as their own, or at least took for granted their right to live there. Hence for John and Bill's families, a culturally disposed tolerance toward their brothers' retreat.[48]

I could find no obituary for Bill Hunter. However, under dateline of Woodville, Texas, November 15, and special to the *Beaumont Enterprise*, appeared this prominent caption, "John Perryman Dies at Spurger." Mention was made of his Baptist Church membership [although his attendance was sporadic at best]. Surprisingly, Bill Hunter was not among the listed pallbearers; however, his brother John Reddick Hunter served in this capacity.

When he died John Perryman had two sisters living in Hilister, and Carrie in Spurger. Four ministers officiated at his service: the Reverends R. L. Pope and E.F. Cockrell of Hillister, and A.N. Todd and W.H. Ellis of Spurger.

A Masonic graveside service ensued. Thus his loving family made sure their brother was put away respectfully, and with all bases covered.

NOTES

For purposes of this paper, and specifically for the documentation of added details and events in John Perryman and Bill Hunter's lives, I have interviewed the following niece and nephews of Perryman: Donna Jordan Mize, Robert Julian Stamps, James Douglas Swearingen, the late Richard Matthew Jordan, Harold Jordan, also deceased, Herschel Carroll Jordan, and James Oliver Potts. In addition, I am a nephew of Perryman.

Fortunately, I have also interviewed the late Blanche Perryman Potts, the youngest of John Perryman's five sisters, and two of Bill Hunter's nephews: William Burton Hunter and James H. Bergeron.

To these and such kind informants as Ronald Thill, Ricky W. Maxey, and numerous librarians and other unreferenced interviewees, I am deeply indebted. Finally, I am grateful for the comprehensive review by wildlife biologist Roy G. Frye.

[1]Walter Donaldson, "How 'ya Gonna Keep 'em Down on the Farm? (After they've Seen Paree)" (n. p.: Mills Music, Inc., 1919).

[2]Pete Gunter, *The Big Thicket: A Challenge for Conservation* (Austin, 1972), pp. 46-47 (map). This reference includes McLoud's 1970 "Ecological Area."

[3]See Thad Sitton, *Backwoodsmen: Stockmen and Hunters along a Big Thicket River Valley* (Norman, 1995), pp. 78-79; Joe C. Truett and Daniel W. Lay, *Land of Bears and Honey* (Austin, 1984), pp. 138, 144-145; David J. Schmidly, *Texas Natural History: A Century of Change* (Lubbock, 1997), pp. 443-444.

[4]With the exception of Spurger's population, this paragraph's data are from Perryman family history. For Spurger's population, see *New Handbook of Texas*, s.v. "Spurger, Texas."

[5]For a brief biographical sketch of Perryman and his employment history, see:

Discrete Collection No. 155 (Navy Photographs, WWI); John M. Perryman, Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, University of Texas at Austin.

[6]Hunter, William, U.S. Bureau of Census, 1920, Texas, Tyler County; Enumeration Dist. 201, Sheet 6.

[7]Jordan, Vivian C., ed. *A Brief History of the Spurger Area, 1839-1976* (Beech Creek (Spurger), Texas, Home Demonstration Club, 1976), pp. 23, 29, 49.

[8]*New Handbook of Texas*, s.v. "Southeast Texas Male and Female College."

[9]Phoebe Young Armstrong, *From the Forks of Turkey Creek* (n.p.: n.d.), p. 35.

[10]William Hunter, Office of the Registrar, University of Texas, Austin, 1910-1911, Student Permanent Record Card.

[11]For John and Bill's simultaneous entry into the armed services, Herschel Carroll Jordan to author, June 10, 2003, telephone interview, for Hunter's army service, gravestone inscription, Turner's Branch Cemetery, Tyler County, Texas.

[12]Hunter, William, U.S. Bureau of Census, 1920, Texas, Tyler County; Enumeration Dist. 201, Sheet 6; Perryman, John M., U. S. Bureau of Census, 1920, Texas, Tyler County, Enumeration Dist. 205, Sheet 9; Richard M. (Dick) Jordan to author, May 10, 2003, telephone interview.

[13]Herschel C. Jordan to author, June 10, 2003, telephone interview.

[14]Richard M. Jordan to author, May 10, 2003, telephone interview; for "Upper River Corridor" reference, see *Big Thicket Map and Guide* (U.S. Government Printing Office, 2001).

[15]Blanche Perryman Potts to author, May 5, 1986, personal interview.

[16]Donna Jordan Mize to author, April 15, 20, 2003; May 12, 2003; June 1, 10, 2003; July 20, 2003; April 6, 2004, telephone interviews, notes in author's possession.

[17]Herschel C. Jordan to author, June 10, 2003, telephone interview.

[18]Henry E. Sawyer to author, January 13, 14, and 15, 2004, telephone interviews.

[19]J. Douglas Swearingen to author, May 7, 2003, telephone interview.

[20]Jack Sheffield to author, January 15, 2004, telephone interview.

[21]Rebecca McClain Montgomery to author, May 12, 18, 24, 26, 31, 2003, telephone interviews.

[22]Richard (Dick) M. Jordan to author, February 27, 2003, March 12, 2003, April 27, 2003, May 10, 30, 31, 2003, June 15, 2003, telephone interviews.

[23]William Burton Hunter to author, March 24, 25, June n.d., 2004, telephone interviews.

[24]James H. Bergeron to author, April 6, 7, 19, 2004, telephone interviews.

[25]Schmidly, *Texas Natural History*.

[26]William B. Davis and David J Schmidly, *The Mammals of Texas* (Austin,1994).

[27]Richard (Dick) M. Jordan to author, February 27, 2003, March 12, 2003, April 27, 2003, May 10, 30, 31, 2003, June 15, 2003, telephone interviews.

[28]Herschel C. Jordan to author, June 10, 2003, telephone interview.

[29]Henry E. Sawyer to author, January 13, 14, and 15, 2004, telephone interviews.

[30]Jack Sheffield to author, January 15, 2004, telephone interview.

[31]Jim F. Hicks to author, January 21, 2004, telephone interview.

[32]Harvey Newman to author, March 20, 2004, telephone interview.

[33]Darrell D. Shine to author, March 20, 22, 2004, telephone interview.

[34]William Burton Hunter to author, March 24, 25, June n.d., 2004, telephone interviews.

[35]James H. Bergeron to author, April 6, 7, 19, 2004, telephone interviews.

[36]Nida A. Marshall, *The Jasper Journal* (Austin, 1993), 1: 267-269.

[37]Rebecca McClain Montgomery to author, May 12, 18, 24, 26, 31, 2003, telephone interviews.

[38]Richard (Dick) M. Jordan to author, February 27, 2003, March 12, 2003, April 27, 2003, May 10, 30, 31, 2003, June 15, 2003, telephone interviews.

[39]Herschel C. Jordan to author, June 10, 2003, telephone interview.

[40]Henry E. Sawyer to author, January 13, 14, and 15, 2004, telephone interviews.

[41]Richard (Dick) M. Jordan to author, February 27, 2003, March 12, 2003, April 27, 2003, May 10, 30, 31, 2003, June 15, 2003, telephone interviews.

[42]William Burton Hunter to author, March 24, 25, June n.d., 2004, telephone interviews.

[43]James H. Bergeron to author, April 6, 7, 19, 2004, telephone interviews.

[44]Richard (Dick) M. Jordan to author, February 27, 2003, March 12, 2003, April 27, 2003, May 10, 30, 31, 2003, June 15, 2003, telephone interviews. John Perryman's date of death is confirmed by family history in author's possession and by Texas Department of health records.

[45]Richard (Dick) M. Jordan to author, February 27, 2003, March 12, 2003, April 27, 2003, May 10, 30, 31, 2003, June 15, 2003, telephone interviews. Bill Hunter's date of death is confirmed by Turner Branch Cemetery (Tyler County) tombstone markings and Texas Department of Health records.

[46]William Burton Hunter to author, March 24, 25, June n.d., 2004, telephone interviews.

[47]Truett and Lay, *Land of Bears and Honey*, p. 122.

[48]Blair Pittman, *The Stories of L.C. Eason, King of the Dog People* (Denton, 1996), pp. X-XI.

THE CONFEDERATE SHOEMAKERS OF TOWN BLUFF, TEXAS

By Thomas R. Reid

Throughout the brief life of the Provisional Army of the Confederate States, soldiers suffered from an ongoing shortage of shoes. In August 1862, Captain John Stark of Company H, Thirteenth Texas Cavalry (dismounted), wrote to his wife from southern Arkansas that, "some of the boys are nearly naked now, and some barefooted."[1] In the same letter, Stark mentioned that a shop in Monroe, Louisiana, sold shoes for $5.00 a pair, but had so many orders it could not help him. Lieutenant Theophilus Perry of the Twenty-eighth Texas Cavalry wrote that a shop in Shreveport had shoes for $10.00 but they were too "fine and unsuitable."[2] At the time common soldiers were paid only $11.00 a month.

In campaigns fought west of the Mississippi River, commanders often reported leaving "shoeless" soldiers behind in camp as they prepared for battle. After battles, Union casualties or prisoners often were stripped of their footgear. One Confederate soldier commented in the Charleston *Daily Courier* on September 3, 1862, that "All a Yankee is worth is his shoes."[3] The shortages were attributed to the location of the center of commercial shoe manufacturing which was in the Union-controlled northeast.

Following the successful conclusion of the Red River Campaign in the summer of 1864, which had included moving large infantry formations many hundreds of miles, shoe shortages became critical. Major General John G. Walker, commander of the Confederate District of Western Louisiana, issued orders on July 1, 1864, establishing a military shoe factory at Town Bluff, in eastern Tyler County, Texas, and assigning soldiers as workers.[4] Town Bluff was a cotton port on the Neches River located on high bluffs overlooking the cypress-lined eastern bank in Jasper County. It was a village of white-painted, wood-frame homes, warehouses, and businesses. It had been surveyed, subdivided, and promoted in the 1830s by Wyatt Hanks, a former member of the first government of the Republic of Texas as well as the operator of the first ferry on the Neches at that location. General Walker may have selected Town Bluff as the location of the shoe factory because of an existing leather tanning facility as well as the availability of a trained shoemaker, Private William R. Ratcliff, Jr.[5]

The four soldiers detailed to the Town Bluff shoe factory were conscripted by the Confederacy. All conscripts were required to be assigned to combat units prior to being detailed to other duties. In this case, the soldiers were assigned to Captain Charles H. Jones' Company K, Thirteenth Texas Cavalry Regiment (dismounted), then serving in Louisiana and Arkansas in the Trans-Mississippi Department.[6] The probable foreman of the enterprise, Ratcliff, was a volunteer detailed from Company D of Spaight's 11th Battalion, then stationed between Beaumont and Sabine Pass.[7] The soldiers detailed for duty at

Thomas R. Reid teaches at Lamar University in Beaumont, Texas.

Town Bluff were considerably older than those already serving in the Thirteenth Texas Cavalry, whose mean age in May 1862 was twenty-five years.[8] The mean age of the shoemakers in 1864 was thirty-five.

One of the shoemakers, Samuel W. Allen, a native of Pennsylvania, probably came to Texas by way of Tennessee, where his wife had been born, about 1857. He was described in the Tyler County, Texas, census of 1860 as a mechanic (millwright) aged twenty-seven with a two-year-old daughter who had been born in Texas. Allen's only mention in the records of Company K occurs in the regiment's final muster in April 1865. This was typical of those from Tyler County detailed as shoemakers, and can be explained by the fact that there are no extant muster records for March 1, 1864, to March 31, 1865.[9]

D.M.H. Carroway, a native of Alabama, came to Tyler County, Texas, about 1858. His sons, one aged two and the other eight months, were listed in the census in 1860 as having been born in Texas. At that time, Carroway, at the age of twenty-eight, was working as a farm laborer. His wife, born in Georgia, was listed in the census as illiterate. Carroway worked near the large farm of W. H. Perryman located on the road from Woodville to Mott's Ferry on the Neches River.[10]

Rufus King Ratcliff was born in Mississippi in 1819. He married Sarah M. Thompson in September 1843. In May 1846, Ratcliff was the first postmaster in the town of Ratcliff, a village that was located a few miles northwest of Town Bluff near Wolf Creek.[11] He also had served as county tax assessor in Tyler County's first administration following statehood. Forty-five years old in 1864, Ratcliff was at the upper extreme of those subject to the Confederate draft.

George Washington Richardson had been born in Louisiana in 1827; his wife was a native of Mississippi. In 1860 they were living in Tyler County, where their first son had been born about 1858. Richardson farmed near Spurger, Texas, and was thirty-seven at the time of his conscription.[12]

William R. Ratcliff, Jr. was born in Mississippi. His family relocated to Tyler County when he was approximately seven years old. His father, described in the census of 1860 as a mechanic, was a native of Tennessee and his mother was Canadian. William Jr. was a successful farmer who enlisted in the Confederate service in a company raised in Tyler County by his father-in-law, Captain James Gortney Collier, for Lieutenant Colonel Ashley Spaight's Eleventh Battalion of Texas Volunteers.[13]

In 1935, eighty-one-year-old Elizabeth Abigail Ratcliff Hicks, the daughter of William R. Ratcliff, Jr., recalled that her family lived on a small farm on Beech Creek, near Town Bluff, at the time of the Civil War. The farm had been given to her father by her grandfather, James G. Collier, one of the county's early settlers.[14] About seven years old at the time the war broke out, Elizabeth had vivid memories of the war and of the part her family played in making shoes for the Southern soldiers.[15]

Mrs. Hicks related, "My father went into the war. He was sent to

Jefferson County and trained for a while with the troops between Beaumont and Sabine Pass." Her father served in Lieutenant Colonel Ashley W. Spaight's Eleventh Battalion of Texas Volunteers, whose mission was to defend the coast from Sabine Pass westward against the threat of Union invasion. Her grandfather, Captain James G. Collier commanded Spaight's Company D, in which her father also served.[16] Her father had learned, at a young age, to make shoes. Once his battalion commander discovered this, Spaight detailed Ratcliff back home in November 1862 to fill that urgent need. The Confederate District of Texas made this temporary arrangement official April 26, 1863, with a formal detail to produce shoes for the army.[17]

While it was certainly an unromantic job, Ratcliff and the family dedicated themselves to it as a necessary task. His superiors had established a quota of fifteen pairs of shoes a week, but he bettered that. For anything beyond his weekly allotment he received some payment in Confederate currency, but for the stipulated fifteen pairs he got nothing other than his regular military pay. Elizabeth recalled that aside from the rawhides themselves, which her father and brothers tanned, the family furnished all the material for the Confederate shoes. She clearly remembered the big tanning vats, the red oak bark and the mill where it was ground.

"My mother and the other children made wooden pegs - we had no metal nails, of course," Mrs. Hicks remembered. "We also made all the thread for the shoes - every bit of it. My mother had me spin two hanks of thread every day. Then if it wasn't too dark, when I finished I could go out and play a little. But after that I had to come in, spin some more, and then knit a while." The wooden shoe nails were whittled from red oak, and after being hardened carefully in the fire, they were often more durable than soft iron. Once driven into the soles and heels of shoes, they absorbed moisture and expanded slightly, producing a strong bond in the leather.[18]

The leather works mentioned by Eliza Hicks was located on Tanners Creek, a short distance upstream from Town Bluff near the Neches River and just downstream from Wolf Creek.[19] The former site of the tannery is now submerged beneath the waters of B. A. Steinhagen Lake. An example of the early nineteenth-century mill used to grind the red oak bark for its tannin[20] used in the process can be seen on the grounds of Heritage Village Museum located a short distance west of Woodville, Texas. No reference remains to suggest a location of the workshop in Town Bluff. The removal of the county seat to Woodville in 1846, however, began a decline in commercial activity there that probably ensured that many buildings were vacant and available for the enterprise.

The tanning process involved the use of salt, alum, gall, and tannin made from red oak bark, as well as frequent changes of water, boiling, scraping, and drying. Tanning hides for shoes, known as bark tanning, was labor intensive and took about forty-five days to complete.[21] Eliza Hicks mentioned that her uncle, Tom Hicks, "helped with the tanning," but it is unclear if that was a part of the shoemakers' duties or a separate business selling leather to the Confederate authorities.

The finished shoes were square-toed, ankle-high brogans, reddish-brown in color. Three or four pairs of eyes for the rawhide laces secured them. The soles and heels were attached to the uppers by small wooden pegs or nails. Although produced in the normal range of sizes, there was no difference between "left" and "right" shoes; they conformed to the shape of the wearer's foot with time. Similar shoes were produced in a factory in Georgia during the war, and were sold to the Quartermaster Department for $2.25 per pair.[22] The official Confederate regulation for clothing issue to the army was contained in Adjutant General Samuel Cooper's General Order 100, December 8, 1862, and stipulated that four pairs were to be issued each year without charge and that additional shoes would be charged against the soldier's pay at a cost of $6.00 a pair.[23] The system of distribution was often less than ideal. While stationed in Pineville, Louisiana, in the summer of 1863, Private John C. Porter of the Eighteenth Texas Infantry recalled, "Here we drew a lot of shoes, but as I was out on guard, I got none, although I had been barefoot for months. However, they afterward got me a pair of elevens ... my size being eights, which I wore until the spring of 1864."[24] The intended level of resupply was a goal the Quartermaster Department could never attain.

Based on the output required of Private William R. Ratcliff, Jr., during his original detail - fifteen pairs per week - the five or so soldiers in the workshop at Town Bluff probably produced in excess of 3,000 pairs of shoes for the Confederate Army between July 1864 and June 1865. The soldiers of the Trans-Mississippi saw little action during that last period of the war, but did do a great deal of marching between Louisiana and southern Arkansas. They were, no doubt, grateful for new shoes to wear on those treks as well as on the long march home.

NOTES

[1]John T. Stark to Martha Stark, Aug. 9, 1862, 13th Texas Cavalry file, H.B. Simpson Research Center, Hill College, Hillsboro, Texas.

[2]Theophilus Perry to Harriet Perry, July 17, 1862, in M. Jane Johansson ed., *Widows by the Thousand* (Fayetteville, Arkansas, 2000), p. 5.

[3]Bell Irvin Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb* (Baton Rouge, 1978), p. 115.

[4]National Archives and Records Administration, Compiled Service Records of Soldiers Who Served from the State of Texas, Records Group 109, Microfilm 323, reels 75-80, Washington, D.C. The General Order is cited in the record of each soldier detailed.

[5]James E. and Josiah Wheat, *Sketches of Tyler County History* (Bevil Oaks, Texas, 1986), pp. 41-51.

[6]Thomas R. Reid, *Captain Jack and the Tyler County Boys: A History of Company K, 13th Texas Cavalry Regiment, C.S.A., 1862-1865* (Woodville, Texas, 2000), Appendix C.

[7]Janet B. Hewett ed. *Texas Confederate Soldiers 1861-1865, Vol. 1.* (Wilmington, North Carolina, 1997), p. 434; The Texas State Historical marker for the camp of Spaight's Battalion is located immediately south of the Lamar University – Beaumont campus.

[8]Thomas Reid, "The Spartan Band: A History of Burnett's 13th Texas Cavalry Regiment, 1862-1865," MA thesis, Lamar University, Beaumont, TX, 2001, p. 31.

[9]National Archives and Records Administration, "Confederate Soldiers Who Served from the State of Texas," Microfilm Record Group 109, M323, reels 75-80; Wheat, *Sketches of Tyler County History*, p. 151; Following the war, Sam Allen owned and operated a large sawmill near Mobile in northern Tyler County.

[10]"Eighth Census of the United States, Population Schedule," Tyler County, Texas, Microfilm M653-1306, Washington, D.C. All census data cited in this article will be found in this source.

[11]Wheat, *Sketches of Tyler County History*, p. 245.

[12]Compiled Service Records, Texas, M323-79: "Eighth Census, Population Schedule, Tyler County."

[13]Compiled Service Records, M323-79; "Eighth Census, Population Schedule, Tyler County."

[14]Wheat, *Sketches of Tyler County History*, p. 44. Captain Collier, along with William Ratcliff and Marion Phillips, surveyed the road from Town Bluff to the new county seat of Woodville in 1846.

[15]Dean Tevis, "Pioneer Texas Family Makes Thousands of Pairs of Shoes for Confederates," *The Sunday [Beaumont] Enterprise*, July 7, 1935.

[16]Hewett, *Texas Confederate Soldiers*, Vol. I, p. 103.

[17]Compiled Service Records, Ratcliff, William R., Pvt., December 1862 muster record notes "absent," "detailed November 1862 as shoemaker by Order Number 3." Subsequent musters note "detached service to make shoes for Gov. Texas Apr 26/63." Brig. Gen. William R. Scurry gave the order.

[18]Dean Tevis, "Pioneer Texas Family," *The Sunday Enterprise*, July 7, 1935.

[19]Lou Ella Moseley, *Pioneer Days of Tyler County* (Ft. Worth, 1975), p. 145.

[20]Tannin is a reddish-brown compound from oak bark containing tannic acid.

[21]*Encyclopedia Britannica*, 1st ed., s.v. "Tanning."

[22]Thomas H. Flaherty, ed., *Echoes of Glory: Arms and Equipment of the Confederacy* (Alexandria, Virginia, 1991). Photos of similar shoes manufactured for and worn by Confederate soldiers are illustrated on pages 174-175.

[23]*War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, 128 vols., Series 4, Volume II, pp. 229-231.

[24]James H. Davis, *Texans in Gray: A Regimental History of the 18th Texas Infantry* (Tulsa, 1999), p. 51.

YET ANOTHER LOOK AT THE FERGUSONS OF TEXAS

By Jane Bock Guzman

Texas politics and politicians have always been interesting, and James E. (Pa) and Miriam A. (Ma) Ferguson were among the most engaging characters in Texas political history. They both were elected governor, although most observers believed at the time that only one of them, Pa, actually performed the duties of the office. He was the only Texas governor ever to be impeached; she was the first woman elected to the highest office in the state.

James Edward Ferguson was born on August 31, 1871, near Salado in Bell County. His father died when he was four years old. After being expelled from school for disobedience, he left home at sixteen and wandered through the West, working as a miner and on a railroad gang. He returned home two years later to study law, and was admitted to the bar in 1897. His law practice was not lucrative enough, so he turned to real estate, insurance, and banking. He married Miriam Amanda Wallace on December 31, 1899.

Miriam and Jim had probably known each other all their lives. Her mother, Eliza Garrison Wallace, was a widow with two daughters when she married Joseph L. Wallace. Her first husband was Wesley G. Ferguson, the brother of James Edward Ferguson, Sr., and the uncle of James Jr. The two daughters from her first marriage were his first cousins, as well as Miriam's half-sisters; therefore, Miriam's mother was Jim Ferguson's aunt. Miriam was born on June 13, 1875, in Bell County, four years after Jim. Unlike her future husband, she had the benefit of higher education; she attended two colleges, Salado College and Baylor Female College at Belton, although she did not graduate from either.[1]

The Fergusons held an interest in the Farmers State Bank of Belton for several years, and Jim, who managed the concern, was a member of the Texas State Bankers Association. In 1907 the Fergusons sold their share of the bank and moved to Temple, where Jim organized the Temple State Bank and became its president. He became involved in local politics, opposing prohibition even though he was a teetotaler. His position on this, one of the most pressing political issues of the era in Texas, put him in direct opposition to the Ku Klux Klan, a powerful force throughout the state that was promoting prohibition. Not only did Ferguson's stance distance him from other Texas politicians, it gained him the support and friendship of Texas brewers, who stood to lose their businesses if prohibition became law.[2]

In 1914 Jim Ferguson decided to run for governor. Although never before holding elective office, he won the Democratic nomination when other "wets," or anti-prohibitionists, withdrew from the race to avoid dividing the vote. Ferguson found his calling in politics, employing a time-honored practice of appealing to the "common man." He wore a frock coat and deliberately used poor grammar, despite the fact that he was well read, to appeal to his "boys at the forks of the creek," as he called the tenant farmers. He frequently criticized

Jane Bock Guzman teaches history and government at Richland Community College.

"city slickers" and "educated fools who know nothing of the farmer's problems." Building on this populist theme, he usually added that he "warn't no college dude, and durned glad of it." This tactic – portraying himself as one of the people – was quite a leap, considering his presidency of a bank, his financial interest in ten others, and his ownership of 2,500 acres of black farmland – but it worked. Ferguson called for state regulation of rental fees landlords charged their sharecroppers and opposed bonus payments attached onto customary rent charges. He proposed laws limiting the amount of rent that landlords could demand from tenants, one-fourth for cotton and one third for grain crops. Ferguson insisted that by improving the lot of tenant farmers, the entire Texas economy would be strengthened. He also supported organized labor, which made him unpopular among business owners, and apologized for the fact that his mother had been educated by Ursuline nuns, explaining that she had been orphaned at an early age and that the nuns had taken her in. He added that she had married a Methodist minister and had never set foot inside a Catholic church. Fergusons appeal to tenant farmers succeeded; after capturing the Democratic nomination in the primary, he easily defeated his Republican opponent in the general election and took office.[3]

Ferguson's apparent disdain for education was not universal, nor was it apparent in his early policy decisions. He often asserted his desire to improve the condition of rural schools in Texas, and during his first term in office textbooks were supplied free for the first time to children enrolled in Texas public schools. Despite his rhetoric to the contrary he also supported higher education, urging generous appropriations for colleges and making provisions for eight new ones. In fact, during his first term, the legislature authorized agricultural colleges at Stephenville and Arlington, appropriated funds for West Texas A&M, and established colleges that later became East Texas State University, Stephen F. Austin State University, and Sul Ross College.[4]

Ferguson did, however, have personal issues with administrators at the University of Texas. Rumors abounded that the UT appropriations bill of 1915 had a number of items that would be vetoed. Ferguson, however, signed the bill without a veto after having discussed it with the University's acting president, W. J. Battle, and several members of the Board of Regents. But because of a recent change in administration at the state's flagship school, there had been no time to prepare a proper itemized budget. Therefore, what Ferguson and the legislature authorized was a proposed budget for the preceding biennium, with an addendum requesting that they be permitted to make such changes as might prove necessary. This was explained to Ferguson and to members of the legislature; the bill specifically stated that the regents might make necessary "changes and substitutions within the total" – in other words, shift money around – as long as they did not exceed the amount appropriated.[5]

Changes were made, which the governor protested. He sent a letter to the regents asserting that Battle was not qualified to be president of the University. Although Battle was assured by the regents that he had their support, he withdrew his name for consideration after Ferguson challenged his ascension to the leadership position. Ferguson insisted that an auditor be appointed for the

University, and the auditor found a few minor accounting errors. The governor used these as evidence of a widespread pattern of wrongdoing.[6]

The Board of Regents elected R.E. Vinson to serve as president of the University in 1916. Ferguson, however, had his own candidate in mind, and was displeased with their decision. He believed that, as governor, he should have been consulted about the filling of such an important office, and he made his views plain to several of the regents. Shortly before Vinson's inauguration, he visited the governor along with Regent George W. Littlefield. During this meeting, Ferguson restated his opposition to Vinson and told the two men that he had inflammatory information about five faculty members. In September Vinson, now the President of the University, asked Ferguson to share this information so that he might submit it to the Board of Regents for evaluation, but the governor declined. He added that in the future, it "would be better for us to remain in our respective jurisdictions and no good purpose can be served by any further relation between us."[7]

Ferguson decided that what he needed was a Board of Regents whose members would follow his wishes. He had already appointed Maurice Faber, a rabbi living in Tyler and the first clergyman to serve in such a capacity, to the board. Ferguson now demanded either Faber's complete support or his resignation. Faber refused to comply with either choice, so Ferguson wrote that he "did not care to bandy words with him, and that if Faber wanted Ferguson to remove him from office, he could rest assured that he (Ferguson), would not shrink for the task."[8]

Apparently changing his mind about involving himself in university affairs, Ferguson attended a Board of Regents meeting in October 1916 to present his evidence against five faculty members and to show the extent of the graft he claimed infected the University. The governor's case was weak, but he insisted that Vinson and the board members should remove these faculty members. After investigating Ferguson's charges they refused to act. Their report was made public and led the governor to declare that the entire issue was "becoming more clearly defined as to whether the University shall run the people of Texas or the people of the state run their own University."[9]

Ferguson must have been surprised at this turn of events: he had just removed three members of the San Antonio State Hospital and encountered only token resistance in replacing a member of the staff at Prairie View A&M College. As a result, he believed that he had more power than he actually did as governor. Ignoring the advice of his wife, who pleaded with him to drop the matter, he pressed onward with his vendetta. Meanwhile, during the legislative session of 1917, several legislators introduced resolutions asking that Ferguson be investigated, and several legislative committees censured the governor for misdeeds.

When the special session of the legislature adjourned in 1917, Governor Ferguson had to decide whether or not to sign the generous appropriations authorized for different state institutions, including the University of Texas. He asked the UT Regents to meet in his office on May 28. Rumors abounded that the gov-

ernor would demand the removal of five faculty members and the expulsion of fraternities from the university. Fraternities were a favorite target of Ferguson, the populist; he declared that they drew a line between wealth and poverty at the university, and that their members lived in "stately mansions," while the poorer students lived in "crowded boardinghouses." He added that the university as a whole was an institution "of fads and fancies, grossly mismanaged."[10]

The regents realized that if they followed the governor's wishes, the appropriations bill would be signed. The Ex-Students' Association issued a statement saying that it would be better to close the university rather that submit to the governor's demands. Ferguson vetoed the university appropriation on June 2, saying that he thought the bill was excessive. He made no mention of an injunction issued by a district court in Austin that had intended to prevent Dr. Fly of Houston, a new Ferguson appointee to the board of regents, from taking his seat. The district court also granted an injunction that enjoined the regents from removing any members of the faculty.

The regents met in Austin on June 5, hoping to compromise since the governor's veto had not been filed with the secretary of state. However, Ferguson then took an even stronger stand and demanded that nine members of the faculty, as well as all lawsuits and injunctions, be dismissed. No compromise was reached, the veto was filed, and the university was allowed the use of its available money and the salary of only one dean.[11]

In July 1917 the injunctions were lifted, and six of the faculty members mentioned by the governor were removed. Ferguson believed he had won, and continued to ridicule the school in a speech he delivered at an Old Settlers' picnic at Valley Mills on July 13. He took a number of swipes at the university, ending his diatribe by declaring "I say that not only are too many people going hog wild over higher education, but that some people have become plain damn fools over the idea that we ought to have an army of educated fools to run the government."[12]

This speech aroused the wrath of Will C. Hogg, secretary of the Ex-Students Association and the son of former governor James S. Hogg. The Ex-Students Association had been organizing opposition to the governor, encouraging former students to monitor the governor closely for any indication of misdeeds – which they soon discovered. Ferguson was indicted by a Travis County Grand Jury and later impeached by the Texas House of Representatives, meeting in a special session on August 1, 1917. The House impeached him on twenty-one charges of misconduct: these included findings that Ferguson juggled state accounts to serve his private financial interests; that he lied to the legislature earlier concerning the bad state of his personal finances; that he had secured a mysterious personal loan for $156,500, (rumored to have come from Kaiser Wilhelm of Germany – this was, after all, the early days of American involvement in WWI – but later found to have been made by San Antonio brewers); that he tried to become the dictator of the university; that he tried to bribe government officials; and finally, that he had intermingled his own and the state's accounts at the Temple State Bank to

make money for himself. Ferguson excused himself on the last day of the trial before members of the Texas Senate and went to Fort Worth to attend a livestock show. The vote was twenty-five to three to convict Ferguson and remove him from office. William P. Hobby, the president of the senate, succeeded Ferguson as governor and called a special session of the legislature to appropriate new monies for the university, and things returned to normal. As a result of the conviction, Ferguson lost all his civil rights, including the right to hold office. He claimed that he was a martyr, put to death by the university clique and the newspapers.[13]

Jim and Miriam Ferguson left Austin in disgrace and moved back to Temple, where the former governor started a weekly newspaper, *The Ferguson Forum.* He liked to call it "my little Christian weekly," and used it to communicate with his supporters, especially in East Texas, who waited eagerly for their papers every Friday. Ferguson used his paper to launch a diatribe against the Ku Klux Klan and the University of Texas, to lobby for repeal of the prohibition laws and elimination of the poll tax, and occasionally to slur Jews. He endorsed Henry Ford for president in 1924, saying, "He is the living personification and perfection of the principle of a dollar's worth of services for a dollar paid," and even sold subscriptions to the *Dearborn Independent* in his newspaper. Ferguson ran for governor again in 1918, against Hobby, despite being legally barred from doing so, and lost by a landslide. In 1920, he left the Democratic Party to run for president on the American Party ticket.[14]

Ferguson's main political thrusts were against the Ku Klux Klan and prohibition. The Klan was founded after the Civil War by Confederate veterans, as a means of keeping former slaves "in their place." It collapsed early in the 1870s but was revived in 1915 by Dr. Hiram Evens, a Dallas dentist. In its early years the new Klan was an object of ridicule to some; invitations to a party honoring an engaged couple, Beatrice Wertheimer and Herbert Mallinson, asked guests to dress in Klan attire, which the society columnist of the local paper described as "grotesque." Despite such derision, the organization's membership grew in strength, especially in Dallas: October 24, 1923, was Ku Klux Klan Day at the State Fair of Texas. The Fergusons moved to Dallas briefly in 1923, but were unhappy there and soon moved back to Temple. One reason could be the fact that *The Ferguson Forum* did not flourish in Dallas. A lack of advertising from Dallas merchants led Ferguson to print his most infamous column in the March 15, 1923 issue. "The Cloven Foot of the Dallas Jew" was a diatribe listing the evils of the Jewish merchants of Dallas. This column was so extreme that Klan editors reprinted it in their paper one week later to expose Ferguson as an anti-Semite. The gist of his complaint was that the "Big Jews," i.e Alex Sanger, Herbert Marcus, etc., refused to advertise in *The Ferguson Forum.* The fact that these same individuals did not advertise in either the local Jewish paper or the Klan paper was a fact Ferguson either chose to ignore or deemed unimportant. Frustrated, and finally acknowledging that he was ineligible for state office himself, Ferguson decided to run his wife for governor in 1924. Miriam Ferguson was, by all accounts, a private person who was mainly interested in her home and family,

but declared that she was running for office "for the vindication of our family name." When asked about her qualifications for office, she replied," I know I can't talk about the Constitution and the making of laws and the science of government like some other candidates, and I believe they have talked too much, but I have a trusting and abiding faith 'that my Redeemer liveth,' and I am trusting to him to guide my footsteps in the path of righteousness for the good of our people and the good of our State."[15]

The Ferguson campaign slogan was "Two governors for the price of one." Because Mrs. Ferguson had spent her first forty-nine years as a housewife and mother of two daughters, Dorrace and Ouida, and because her initials were M and A, she soon became known as Ma Ferguson. After finishing among the leaders in the Democratic primary, her campaign began to attract national attention. Reporters wanted human-interest stories, so Ouida Ferguson persuaded her mother to let the press photograph her peeling peaches in the kitchen of her birthplace, the Wallace family farm eleven miles outside of Temple. She was also photographed feeding a flock of white leghorn chickens, hoeing her garden, and standing beside a brace of mules. The caption of the picture showing her peeling peaches called her "Ma" Ferguson, and her husband automatically became "Pa." Pictures showing her wearing a bonnet were circulated widely, and led to her campaign song, sung to the tune of "Put on Your Old Grey Bonnet."

> Get out your old time bonnet
> And put Miriam Ferguson on it
> And hitch your wagon to a star
> So on election day
> We each of us can say
> Hurrah, governor Miriam, Hurrah.

Mrs. Ferguson won the Democratic run-off election in August of 1924, and easily defeated her Republican opponent in November. Posters and stickers appeared claiming "Me for Ma ... and I ain't got a durned thing against Pa!"[16]

Mrs. Ferguson was elected for several reasons. The Klan, though strong in membership, aroused fear in many due to the appearance of its hooded members. One of Mrs. Ferguson's first campaign promises was to see that an anti-mask law was enacted (which the State Supreme Court soon found unconstitutional). Klansmen inspired terror by beating, whipping, and tar-and-feathering individuals they deemed immoral, including pimps, murderers, child-molesters, straying husbands and wives, abortionists, bootleggers, and gamblers, as well as African-Americans who did not "keep in their place." In addition, the Klan newspaper, *The Texas 100 Per Cent American,* was a continuous diatribe against the evils of Roman Catholicism. Many of Mrs. Ferguson's supporters were those who were weary of the constant fear the Klan inspired. Texas had a considerable Catholic population, as well as a number of those wishing an end to prohibition. They were among her voters, as were feminists who voted for her because she was a woman. Prominent business and political leaders around Texas endorsed her candidacy, including John Nance Garner,

the vice-presidential candidate, who promised that a Democratic victory would mean a return to state and national prosperity. In an August 17, 1924 editorial, George Dealey, the editor of the *Dallas Morning News*, stated that Miriam Ferguson's election would "sound the death knell of the Klan as a political power base in the State." He was correct.[17]

The Fergusons returned to Austin in the same 1917 Packard Twin-Six in which they had driven away in disgrace. Since Jim had never learned to drive, Miriam was at the wheel. When they had departed Austin several years earlier, Miriam had declared that a brighter day would dawn for them, and that they would return in the same Packard. It had been stored in a Temple garage until the governor-elect remembered her prediction and had it repaired, polished, and fitted with new tires for the triumphal return. As she pulled the car under the *porte cochere*, she exclaimed, "Well, we have arrived!" While walking around the old familiar grounds, she was aghast to discover that her name had been removed from a block of concrete at the threshold of the greenhouse she had built during her husband's administration. She immediately called a concrete worker to restore her name and date to the greenhouse.[18]

Her administration operated smoothly at first. In addition to the anti-mask bill targeting the Ku Klux Klan, the chief legislation passed was a tick eradication bill crucial to the cattle industry of the state. However, controversies arose, usually centering around the governor's husband. For the most part, she governed in name only. Jim Ferguson's desk was next to hers (similar to those of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert), and everyone knew that he was the real power. He attended meetings of state boards, commissions, and agencies, with or without the governor, and received personal callers.[19]

Jim's "little Christian weekly" was still going strong. There was no standard rate for advertising during this period, but those wishing for favorable attention from the Ferguson administration paid exorbitant prices for the privilege of promoting their concerns. For example, a special edition of the paper appeared on December 18, 1924, just before Miriam's inauguration. It contained more than twice as much advertising space as editorial copy – 2,674 inches v 1,246 inches – and all but nineteen inches of advertising space were for firms wanting favors from the new administration. As a result, contracts were awarded for the building of highways to individuals or firms that had never built or maintained roads, including doctors, ranchers, politicians, and lawyers. The one thing they all had in common was that they either were loyal friends of the governor's husband or they had advertised in *The Ferguson Forum*.[20]

The Ferguson's older daughter, Ouida Ferguson Nalle, had worked in the insurance business before her mother's inauguration. She then became an agent for the American Surety Company and wrote surety bonds for road and other contractors. Her clientele was strictly limited to those seeking business with the state. She was also a partner in a real-estate firm that promoted development at the Colorado River Dam near Austin. Her husband, George S. Nalle, promoted stock in a company that had a twenty-year lease on land containing lead ore. Nalle corresponded with friends of the administration, including sev-

eral legislators, inviting them to buy stock and to send their checks to him in care of the governor's mansion in Austin.[21]

Controversy also surrounded textbook contracts. Jim Ferguson was elected clerk of the Textbook Commission, and one of the pending state contracts was with the American Book Company. It called for the state to purchase thousands of copies of a spelling book at a price a nickel a copy more than it would have cost in Ohio, but the State Supreme Court found the contract valid. The biggest controversies, however, stemmed from the number of pardons criminals received during Mrs. Ferguson's administration. Rumors abounded, but no proof has ever surfaced that pardons were sold, although it seems unlikely that anyone who bought one would ever admit it.[22]

During his wife's administration Jim Ferguson continued his law practice, and was counsel and advisor to several railroads. The newspaper prospered as well; a *Ferguson Forum* was launched in Austin, for which Jim solicited advertising on the governor's official stationery, and state employees were among the subscribers.[23]

The proudest moment for the Ferguson family was the Amnesty Act for James E. Ferguson that Miriam signed into law with a gold pen on March 31, 1925. In the fall of the same year, however, several members of the House of Representatives began an abortive attempt to impeach Mrs. Ferguson, citing several irregularities in her administration. But the legislature was not sitting, and the governor would have had to call a special session, so nothing came of this.

Miriam Ferguson had declared she would only seek one term, but either she or her husband had changed their mind as her term neared its end. She lost to fellow Democrat Dan Moody in the primary, then completed her term. The Fergusons remained in Austin afterwards, living first in the Driskill Hotel, then a rented house, and finally settling into a home on Windsor Road they had built for them. While Miriam lived quietly, Jim kept up his opposition to Moody through his newspaper. In 1928, for the first time since 1914, no Ferguson name appeared on the ticket of any political party. However, with the coming of the Great Depression, the Fergusons saw an opportunity, and Miriam ran again in 1932, becoming the first Texas governor elected to two nonconsecutive terms. Miriam was not a candidate for re-election in 1934, but she ran, unsuccessfully, against W. Lee (Pappy) O'Daniel in 1940, an old enemy of her husband. She came in fourth in that race, her last.[24]

On June 13, 1955, the Austin Junior Chamber of Commerce held a dinner in honor of Miriam Ferguson's eightieth birthday. Approximately 300 people attended the event at the Driskill Hotel, including former governor James V. Allred and Senate Majority Leader Lyndon B. Johnson. Governor Allen Shivers served as Master of Ceremonies. President Dwight D. Eisenhower sent his felicitations, and as a salute to her, the entire gathering sang her old campaign song, "Put on Your Old Gray Bonnet." Jim had died more than a decade earlier, in 1944, and Miriam Ferguson passed away in 1961 and was buried next to her husband in the state cemetery in Austin. There is no doubt that their administrations were colorful. However, together they were responsible, more

than any other politicians, for offering Texans a viable alternative to the Ku Klux Klan. While some of their actions may have benefited themselves or special interests more than the state or its residents, they never encouraged the violence and hatred that the Klan endorsed. Considering the climate of the day, Texas could have easily been governed by worse people.[25]

NOTES

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[15]*Dallas News*, June 5, 1920, October 25, 1923, June 18, 1924;*The Texas 100 Per Cent American*, March 23, 1923, October 26, 1923; *The Ferguson Forum*, April 10, 1910, March 15, 1923; Kent Biffle, "When Pa Called the Kettle Ma," *Dallas Morning News*, August 18, 2002.

[16]Brown, *Hood, Bonnet, and Little Brown Jug*, pp. 227-228; Nalle, *The Fergusons of Texas*, pp. 175-176.

[17]Brown, *Hood, Bonnet, and Little Brown Jug*, p. 56; *The Texas 100 Per Cent American*, 1922-1924; *The Ferguson Forum*, October 27, 1932.

[18]Nalle, *The Fergusons of Texas*, p. 185.

[19]Brown, *Hood, Bonnet, and Little Brown Jug*, p. 269; *The Ferguson Forum*, March 19, 1924.

[20]Brown, *Hood, Bonnet, and Little Brown Jug*, pp. 278-283; Steen, "Governor Miriam A. Ferguson," p. 10.

[21]Austin *American*, November 10, 1925; Brown, *Hood, Bonnet, and Little Brown Jug*; Calbert, "James Edward and Miriam Amanda Ferguson," p. 119.

[22]Brown, *Hood, Bonnet, and Little Brown Jug*, pp. 274-276; Steen, "Governor Miriam A. Ferguson," pp. 10-12.

[23]Calbert, "James Edward and Miriam Amanda Ferguson," p. 555.

[24]Steen, "Governor Miriam A. Ferguson," p. 13.

[25]Paulissen and McQueary, *Miriam*, p. 292.

CONSTRUCTING GOOD SUCCESS: THE CHURCH OF GOD IN CHRIST AND SOCIAL UPLIFT IN EAST TEXAS, 1910-1935

By Karen Kossie-Chernyshev

> I was deprived of a schoolroom education ... However, I was undaunted in my quest for literary training. I studied hard at home by the scant light of the old pine knot fire. Laboring under untoward circumstances, i.e., meager resources, poor facilities, hard labor, with approximately nine months in the school room, exemplifies the object lesson of this booklet that God can make a man. Not a self-made man but a God-made man.[1]

E.M. Page, the first bishop of the Church of God in Christ (COGIC) in Texas, wrote the above passage in his autobiography. Like many blacks whose lives were marked by the rise of Jim Crow, peonage systems of labor, and political disenfranchisement, Page determined to educate himself against all odds, an earnest quest for progress that many early observers of black Pentecostals overlooked. Either enthralled or appalled by the exoticism of Pentecostal worship, onlookers tended to focus on calisthenics: women and men dancing down the aisles of the church, children playing tambourines and clapping their hands in polyrhythmic abandon, and people possessed by the spirit either collapsing under the power or taking victory laps around a wood-framed church. In all the clamor, the unique story of black Pentecostals' progressive ideals was muted.

Zora Neale Hurston, in her anthropological study *The Sanctified Church* (1935) described the African American Pentecostal Church as a "protest against highbrow tendency in Negro Protestant congregations as Negroes gain[ed] education and wealth" and "a revitalizing element in Negro music and religion."[2] Hurston's description conversely suggested that black Pentecostals were anti-educational and that they accommodated poverty. Subsequent scholarly studies investigated Hurston's take but generally presupposed that education and progress were the antitheses of being black and Pentecostal.

Few studies have examined Black Pentecostals in Texas apart from Ada Moorhead Holland's and Reverend C.C. White's *No Quittin' Sense* (1969),[3] an in-depth biographical study of White's life and ministry, and Alwyn Barr's *Black Texans: A History of Negroes in Texas: 1528-1971* (1973).[4] Even fewer studies focus on the Church of God in Christ's commitment to the social uplift efforts that absorbed the creative energies of many Southern blacks at the turn of the century.[5] Drawing on the self-published works of members, newspapers, eulogies, city directories, deed records, and in-house COGIC publications, this essay aims to clarify an otherwise obscure story that unfolded in East Texas early in the twentieth-century. The early Texas COGIC leader E.M. Page countered claims of "otherworldliness" by embracing the ideals of the Progressive era, particularly its emphasis on social uplift through civic involvement and education.

Karen Kossie-Chernyshev is an Assistant Professor of History at Texas Southern University.

E.M. Page's foresight and example made him the perfect champion for COGIC in Texas.[6] He was born on the Marlin Stubblefield farm in Yazoo County Mississippi, May 9, 1871. The eldest son of Richard and Pollie Ann Page, his firsthand knowledge of the rigors of rural life helped him develop the leadership and organizational skills needed to guide the early COGIC church in Texas.

Despite prevalent claims to the contrary, the same held true for members of the Church of God in Christ, spiritual newcomers to a region dominated by Baptists and Methodists. The same decade of his birth, black migrants from Central Texas established "The Little Flock Church" in Hearne, Texas, worshipping in an edifice that had once served as a hospital for railway workmen.[7] The staying power of this group provided the foundation for later families who filled the rolls of the voluntary associations, schools, and churches that rose to address the social needs of a community in transition.

Although "separate but equal" policies guaranteed these men and women limited support from public and private funding sources, they and other blacks in East Texas were just as interested in educational progress as were their white contemporaries. In separate contracts dated February 15 and March 7, 1918, the William M. Rice Institute for the Advancement of Literature, Science, and Art sold four blocks and two lots to Robertson County residents for $400 and $115 in separate transactions.[8] On March 18 of the same year, "patrons of the Colored School District No. 16" purchased a one half acre lot near Zion Hill Baptist Colored Church from the Mumford School District, No. 16, Precinct 7 for $125. The deed stipulated that the plot be used for "School purposes, exclusively."[9] Several months later, on June 18, Baylor University sought to clarify ownership of "several pieces of land" in the area.[10] In short, for blacks and whites, secular and sacred, education was serious business. "Black" and "Pentecostal" and stereotyped as poor, ignorant, and otherworldly, they had to struggle for acceptance and against marginality. E.M. Page noted that "it hurt him so bad" [11] to think of moving to Dallas, Texas, where the second COGIC church of Texas was officially organized in 1910 "amid great turmoil and religious intolerance."[12] Because many black Dallasites "viewed" COGIC newcomers "with a sense of alarm," D.J. Young, the first representative appointed to the region, "met ... the combined opposition of a unified community of homes, other churches and schools."[13] Before his Texas appointment, Young ministered in Pine Bluff, Arkansas, for seven years and established a church in Beaumont, where membership grew from fifty to 250. Success in Beaumont notwithstanding, life for blacks in Dallas was different. The level of "persecution" was "so widespread" "in certain quarters that it flared into outbursts of violence, vandalism and sabotage against the members and property of their church."

Frequent reports reached the public that attempts had been made, not only against the church, but [also] on the life of the pastor himself." Protesters of COGIC presence allegedly doused the tent where the early church met with kerosene and "set it afire" in a futile effort to destroy "the very symbol" of the

COGIC.[14] Petitions were circulated to have the church declared a public nuisance because "services tended to disturb the tranquility of the neighborhood." It "became increasingly difficult for the church to purchase property and expand its efforts," one writer noted, "[a]s if the Church of God [in Christ] were something loathful [sic], people everywhere seemed to resent its very presence."[15] Given the "bitter opposition" facing the COGIC, it seemed that the organization's efforts in Dallas were "doomed." But in January 1914, Bishop C. H. Mason, after "carefully" assessing the situation, "sent the young, energetic and astute Elder E.M. Page to take charge of the church." Page arrived in Texas from Memphis on January 27, 1914, and the church received him "gladly."[16]The same reporter wrote: "On that "bleak January day, when a small group of oppressed and greatly discouraged members gathered about him with their stories of woe, [Page] issued this reassuring statement: 'If God is for you He is more than a whole world against you. The church will carry on!" And so it did, thanks to Page's decisive leadership. More diplomatic than his predecessor, Page won "almost universal praise and respect" from the community. As opposition decreased, the membership of the church grew to more than 100 members from January to May 1914. As a "reward for Page's outstanding contribution to the Dallas church," Bishop C. H. Mason appointed him overseer of Texas at the state convocation held in Houston in July 1914. Houston was a fitting place for the convocation as the "Mother" COGIC church of Texas, Center Street COGIC, now "First COGIC," was founded in the Bayou City in 1909. Page Temple in Dallas, named in honor of E. M. Page, and an unnamed church in Hillsboro vie for second place.

From 1914 on, the organization's efforts were defined by establishing churches and encouraging education. The COGIC Educational Board first considered founding a "holiness" school in Texas at a "Ministers' and Workers Meeting" in 1917, ten years after Bishop C. H. Mason founded the denomination and only two years after E. M. Page assumed his position as overseer of COGIC efforts in Texas. Also in 1917, the General Council of the predominantly white Assemblies of God, many of whose early leaders were ordained by C.H. Mason,[17] encouraged holy-spirit filled young people to enroll in "some properly and scripturally accredited Bible training school."[18] Page Normal Industrial and Bible Institute was one of three COGIC schools established in the United States South.[19] Saints Industrial and Literacy School, located in Lexington, Mississippi,[20] though conceived the same year, was the first, and the Bible College, in Little Rock, Arkansas, the second. In 1918 the Texas COGIC Educational Board purchased 268 acres in Hearne on Henry Prairie Rd.,[21] where the administration building and the girls' dormitory for the Page Normal Industrial and Bible Institute were the first two edifices constructed.[22]

Although Page asserted that organizers began the school "on a small scale," with only $1000 "in the bank for school purposes,"[23] the Page Normal School attempted to combine the approaches of both its COGIC predecessors.[24] Course proceedings of the Bible Institute fill pages of the *Texas Bulletin*, a monthly magazine of the Texas COGIC Jurisdiction printed in San Antonio and published "in the interest of Christian religion and Christian education." [25]

Highlights from a homiletics class appeared for the benefit of aspiring ministers throughout the state. Less visible to the newspapers, the "Page Industrial and Literary School" trained students in the principles of holiness and the fundamentals of education through activities on and off campus.[26]

Historian Grant Wacker in his recent work *Heaven Below* (2001) noted that the general Pentecostal interpretation of the "social gospel" outlined in William Gladden's *Tools of Men* (1893) focused on the immediate moral behavior of individuals rather than on larger social ills such as poverty and the unequal distribution of wealth.[27] Black Pentecostals in Texas, however, showed a dual commitment to spiritual and intellectual growth; in their view "holiness" was the spiritual foundation for success. By becoming upstanding members of the community, students were better positioned to address social problems.

The declaration of principles set forth by the organization encouraged supporting the church financially, entertaining and contributing to home and foreign missions, and providing COGIC youth with a religious education. It forbade drinking, going to the movies and other places of amusement, dancing, card playing, furnishing intoxicating drinks to guests on any occasion, and participating in secret, oath-bound societies.[28] Anything perceived to be a "stumbling block in the way of the unconverted, and a grief to brethren whom we should not willingly offend" was to be avoided.[29]

In "Following His Steps," O.T. Jones, Overseer of Pennsylvania and National President of the Young People Willing Workers, reiterated the churches' moral charge to COGIC youth, stating that "[t]he great need of the young people of this present age is a deeper consecration when we realize that the multitude still follow[s] the broad way of ease and pleasure, which only lead[s] to shame and degradation.[30] Outlining the COGIC moral prescription for success, Jones argued that "[t]he epicurean philosophy, 'Let us eat and drink, for tomorrow we die,' is the general creed of the vast majority. But no great achievement, no good influence, no real success ever comes from that source." Emphasizing the importance of building character, Jones also noted:

> We may be sure there was a life of consecration and obedience at the foundation of the achievement. The earnest praying, studious person is often shunned by the thoughtless, frivolous crowd. But when his earnest praying and consecrated efforts have bourn their first fruit in character and achievement, the crowd will look on him with envy and regret, that they did not follow the course that led to some worthwhile end.[31] Young people, in striving to build for ourselves a strong character, we must, however, be careful not to confound reputation with character. A good or malicious character is not inherited like riches; man is his own tutor for his character. It is true that life itself is given of God, but it is also true that the character of each life is determined by his possessor. Let me urge you then as young people to build your character on [a] Christian foundation.[32]

In addition to offering students lessons in character building, Jones demonstrated his commitment to educating COGIC youth during the Eighteenth Annual Convention of the COGIC in 1926, when he donated fifty of the total $339 dollars pledged for "Educational Work." Only Charles

Harrison Mason, bishop and founder of the COGIC organization, matched Jones's contribution.[33] In fact, the philanthropic disposition that Jones demonstrated was evident in COGIC donations to the poor, imprisoned, and "a blind girl," for whom $128, $100, and $23.64 were collected respectively.[34] Students affiliated with Y.P.W.W. and other departments within the organization also learned to raise funds, a skill that COGIC members from Texas had practiced to near perfection. For that year, under the direction of State Mother Hannah Chandler, Texas raised $3489.90 to support COGIC operations. The "Women's Work" faction of Oklahoma, also under Page's jurisdiction, reported $3503, and Arkansas, $5,046.[35]

Students also gleaned from the self-help philosophy that organization advanced by encouraging members to join the National Burial Association. Page's assistant overseer, J. Houston Galloway of Austin, TX, was president of the association. By 1926, Galloway had been "instrumental in legislating for the success of the Benevolent Burial Association" for eight years, and as a result of his involvement, the association "obtain[ed] membership in several states."[36] Those affiliated with the Dallas church learned the importance of political activism via the church's involvement with the campaign efforts of the local NAACP. On May 31, 1919, the COGIC was listed among the twenty-five area churches that were to host NAACP campaign speakers Sunday, June 1, 1919. Although the COGIC congregation's reaction is unknown, the pastor's invitation affirmed his desire to have a politically informed flock.

Students could also look forward to applying their knowledge and demonstrating their talents at state and national Convocations. Those who attended "Educational Night" on the thirteenth day of the Eighteenth Annual COGIC Convocation were no doubt inspired by the "beautiful program" that students from the Geridge School in Arkansas had organized. The recording secretary noted: "Jesus was magnified in every song, in every speech and in every action. How the power did fall, all the saints going up in a shout."[37]

On the Page campus, civic and moral lessons were reinforced by classes in reading, writing, and mathematics, thanks to the leadership of Principal Emma F. Bradley Barron. Born to Professor Sam Henry and Mrs. Rosie Bradley in 1894,[38] she earned her high school diploma in Tyler and pursued an undergraduate degree at Prairie View A&M University. Under the tutelage of faculty members eager to introduce students to Booker T. Washington's pragmatic philosophy, Emma acquired the knowledge and confidence to become a leader, activist, fundraiser, nurturer, and educator. After graduating in 1915, she followed in her father's footsteps and taught in the Hillsboro school system. When COGIC leaders in Texas decided to establish an academic, industrial, and bible training institute for the COGIC and other children, they called on Emma Bradley Barron to serve as the first principal of the school, a position which put her many skills to immediate use.

For fifteen years, the Page Normal Institute made "rapid progress," thanks to the "jurisdictional system" implemented to raise funds for the institute;[39] moreover, it received an important stamp of approval when the COGIC

founder, Bishop C. H. Mason, sent his son to study there.[40] Progress at Page Normal led COGIC leaders in Texas to expand their efforts. In 1922, the Educational Board and trustees of the COGIC bought an additional seventy acres of land in Robertson County from Martine Altimore for $225.[41] Page also made a concerted effort to increase the organization's property holdings and presence in the state. More churches meant more members, and more members ultimately meant more funds to enhance school activities.

In this enthusiastic atmosphere of growth and expansion, "several" students were graduated from the Page Normal and Industrial Institute with "high honors and were "sent out to take their places in the world."[42] Emma Francis Searcy Crouch, a Morris County native, was among the stellar students graduated from Page Normal. Having graduated salutatorian from Booker T. Washington High School in May 1932, Emma entered Page Normal to prepare for a life of service to the church. After earning her diploma in 1934, she studied cosmetology at the C.J. Walker School of Beauty and Culture, and enrolled in Bishop College later in the 1950s.[43] Little did she or Principal Barron know at the time that young Emma would one day rise to the highest position a woman can hold within the COGIC organization, that of International Supervisor of the Women's Department, the financial powerhouse of the COGIC. Based on Emma Crouch's eventual success, Page Normal had trained her well.

Despite the school's positive example, operations were eventually suspended so that priority could be given to the senior schools in Lexington, Mississippi, and Geridge, Arkansas.[44] By 1920, the Lexington school had become so prominent that "the idea of making it a national institution" was introduced at the National Convocation in Memphis, Tennessee. "After some deliberation ... the [Lexington] school was accepted as a national institution on the endorsement of Bishop Mason."[45] After fire devastated the Page complex in 1932,[46] the institute was never rebuilt. However, the "jurisdictional system" that emerged from its development remains the aegis of national COGIC administration, and the progressive spirit inculcated in Page graduates such as Emma Crouch continues to make Texas a premier state within the COGIC organization. Her dedication to the church along with Emma Bradley Barron's and E.M. Page's contributions to the COGIC organization and the communities it served collectively affirm that education and social uplift were indeed on the minds of the COGIC in East Texas. Territory that had once absorbed sweat from the furrowed brows of their enslaved ancestors had now become a perfect place to plan a better future and construct a better world.

NOTES

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[12]*Dallas, TX, Negro City Directory 1941-42*, LXIII.

[13]*Dallas, TX, Negro City Directory 1941-42*, LXIII.

[14]*Dallas, TX, Negro City Directory 1941-42*, LXIII.

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[21]Norman Lowell McCarver, Sr. & Normal Lowell McCarver, Jr., *Hearne on the Brazos* (San Antonio, 1958), p. 104.

[22]Pleas, *Fifty Years of Achievement*, p. 41.

[23]*The History and Life Work of Bishop C.H. Mason*, p. 99

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[31]*Year Book of the Church of God in Christ for the Year 1926*, p. 69.

[32]*Year Book of the Church of God in Christ for the Year 1926*, p. 69.

[33]*Year Book of the Church of God in Christ for the Year 1926*, pp. 81-82.

[34]*Year Book of the Church of God in Christ for the Year 1926*, p. 82.

[35]*Year Book of the Church of God in Christ for the Year 1926*, p. 58.

[36]*Year Book of the Church of God in Christ for the Year 1926*, p. 64.

[37]*Year Book of the Church of God in Christ for the Year 1926*, p. 57.

[38]Funeral Program, Mother Emma Bradley (1894-1996), Saintsville COGIC, Dallas, TX.

[39]Williams Goodson, Email to Karen Kossie-Chernyshev, Tuesday, March 26, 2002.

[40]Williams Goodson, Email to Karen Kossie-Chernyshev, Tuesday, March 26, 2002.

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[43]Dean, *This is the Church of God in Christ*, p. 165.

[44]Dean, *This is the Church of God in Christ*, p. 41.

[45]Pleas, *Fifty Years of Achievement*, p. 48.

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SCENES FROM A SMALL TOWN: EARLY TIMES IN CHIRENO, TEXAS

By Daniel Williams

EDITOR'S NOTE

One of the most unique aspects of Texas history is its capacity to enchant generation after generation. The stories with which young Texans grow up – stories of the Alamo, of Texas Rangers, of Stephen F. Austin and Sam Houston and San Jacinto – often lead them to investigate their own pasts and kindle an interest in history that lasts a lifetime. One young East Texan, Daniel Williams, followed such a path. Curiosity about his hometown of Chireno led him, as a high school student, to write this collection of anecdotes and brief synopses of local history. Readers of the *East Texas Historical Journal* are regularly treated to the finished product of mature scholars, many of whom became fascinated with Texas history as young men and women and who then went on to make it their life's work, whether as a profession or as an avocation. But through Mr. Williams' writings we are privileged to glimpse the beginning of the process, the first and sometimes tentative investigations of a young man just embarking on his lifelong quest to learn about himself and his family, as well as about the community, state, and nation to which he belongs. We hope that by publishing his work we will encourage other young historians to pursue their interests; we also hope to remind readers of the importance of inculcating a love of history in our children and our students, for the future of East Texas' history truly lies with them.

Chireno

Chireno is located in Nacogdoches County on *El Camino Real* (King's Highway), much of which is now State Highway 21. Chireno is sixteen miles west of San Augustine and eighteen miles southeast of Nacogdoches, and lies between the Angelina and the Attoyac rivers.

The settlement was originally part of a Spanish land grant owned by Jose Antonio Chirino, for whom the town was later named. Jose Antonio Chirino was born May 2, 1755 in Los Adaes, Spain. He married his first wife, Maria Antonia de Mora, in 1792 and his second wife, Maria Antonia de lo Santos, in 1803. Chirino received this grant of nine-and-one-eighth leagues of land, about 4,428 acres, from the Spanish king on May 21, 1792. In 1810 the Mexican government challenged his title to the land. For the next twenty years he protested until, on March 9, 1830, the Mexican government surveyed Chirino's land and gave him clear title. In the meantime, sometime before 1824, the town eventually known as Chireno was established. Jose Antonio Chirino's estate was listed on the tax roll of 1837 as owning 3,250 acres of land valued at $2,965.

The first settlement was two-and-one-half miles southwest of the present town. It was founded by a Spaniard, Peter Y'Barbo, around 1810. He may have been a son or a relative of Antonio Gil Y'Barbo, who founded Nacogdoches in

Daniel Williams is a student and lives in Chireno, Texas.

1779. A later Spanish settlement was located three-and-one-half miles northwest of the present town. There were about twelve families in the area including those living in the Y'Barbo settlement.

Another community, the Little settlement, was located three miles northwest of present-day Chireno. Named for an old land grant to John Duff Little in about 1835, these colonists were here before the days of the Republic.

Jose Antonio Chirino died in October 1833, leaving his heirs the land presently occupied by the town of Chireno. The land was later sold off in tracts to colonists seeking homes in Texas, including the Fall, Y'Barbo, Atkinson, Flournoy, Smith, Vail, Little, Wilson, and Metteauer families. Jose Antonio Chirino is possibly buried at Chireno Catholic Cemetery at Our Lady of Lourdes Catholic Church.

White Settlers

One of the earliest white settlers in the Chireno area was Dr. John Newton Fall, a physician from Georgia. Dr. Fall was born January 28, 1810 and attended both the University of Georgia and Emory University. He began practicing medicine in Melrose before moving to Chireno around 1836. He secured several thousand acres of land from Jose Antonio Chirino's heirs, and in 1837 brought his family and built his home nearby. His house had a well inside, which was very unusual for the time. Fall was active for many years in land transactions in the area. On August 11, 1841, he posted a bond of $1,000.00 to be used as security in the transfer of a tract of land (1/2 square mile) from Antonio Gillett to Samuel M. Flournoy. Flournoy later sold 800 acres on November 1, 1851, to Dr. Fall.

Dr. Fall is typically credited with being the founder of Chireno and with making the town what it is today. He was a prominent physician who also built the first general merchandise store – which was very large – a drug store, and a consulting office for his patients. Fall also built a cotton gin and a sawmill in Chireno and maintained stores in Melrose as well. In the Nacogdoches County Census of 1850 John N. Fall is listed as being thirty-eight years old and a merchant.

Like Jose Antonio Chirino, Dr. Fall had two wives. His first wife was Susan T. Wilson, whom he married on March 11, 1831. He brought her and their two children with him when he moved to Chireno, and the couple later had another eight children. One of Dr. Fall's daughters, Mary, married a Dr. D.T. Taylor. Born in Georgia, she was one of the first graduates in classics and music at Montgomery College in LaGrange, Georgia. Dr. Fall's first son, John Calvin, was the first white child to be born in Chireno, entering the world on July 22, 1841. One story about Calvin, as he was known, said that the Indians were very curious; he was the first white baby they had ever seen. The Indians were allowed to rock the new baby's cradle. Calvin later married Laura Emma Hardeman on July 24, 1865 in San Augustine, and served two terms as Nacogdoches County treasurer. Fall married Minerva Hankla Atkinson on June 14, 1842. The widow of Joseph H. Atkinson, Minerva bore Fall one son, Randolph H. Fall, in 1866.

Sam Houston, traveling between his offices in Nacogdoches and San Augustine, was a frequent visitor to Chireno and a friend of Dr. Fall's. He often stayed at the S.M. Flournoy home, later called the Halfway House. Houston also regularly stayed with Dr. John Fall. One time he stayed with Dr. Fall for two weeks to have his wounds from the battle of San Jacinto treated. During his stays in Chireno he carved wooden spoons, crosses, and other trinkets that he then gave to locals.

Dr. John N. Fall was a very smart man and was prominent in early Texas. He served as a Justice of the Peace for Nacogdoches County from1839 to 1841. Dr. Fall was made postmaster on December 3, 1851, succeeding Samuel M. Flournoy, who was the first postmaster in Chireno at the Halfway House. He was elected state senator from the 18th district in 1857 and served from1858 to 1862. In February of 1861 Nacogdoches County sent Dr. Fall and William Clark to represent the county at the secession convention in Austin. They voted to secede from the Union against the wishes of John Fall's good friend, Sam Houston.

Dr. Fall was one of the largest landowners in the Chireno area, and also owned about one hundred slaves. Dr. Fall, and the other white settlers of the area, treated his slaves very well and kept them well fed. He had a smokehouse and he always had it full of meat. The slaves lived in little houses around the fields. Their beds were built into the walls in the quarters. Dr. Fall did not believe in whipping his slaves.

Lizzie Hughes was a slave belonging to Dr. John Fall. She was born December 25, 1848. From what I have read in Lizzie Hughes' slave narrative, Susan Fall liked to tell ghost stories and would try to scare the slaves.

> "She liked to got killed at that business. She put a high chair on her shoulder and covered herself with a sheet and went out in the yard to scare my Uncle Allen. He was the blacksmith, and was going home from the shop carrying a big sledgehammer. When he seed that tall white thing he throwed a hammer at it, but missed and hit a big iron pot in the yard and busted it all to pieces. If he had hit my little Mistress he would have killed her."

Lizzie also remembered that Dr. Fall took good care of his slaves and of white people when they were sick. He was a very good physician. But on September 26, 1864 Susan T. Wilson Fall died. Here is Lizzie Hughes' account of her death.

> "He had four doctors with my little Mistress, but God took her anyhow. It nearly kilt (killed) me when she died. She was allus so good to me and wouldn't let any of them whip me. Some time some of Master's folks would make like they was going to whip me and my little Mistress would take me in her arms and say, "This is the smartest little thing on this place and you ain't gwying to whip her. I layed cross her bed and cried all day when she died. I was big enuff to do things round the house when the War started."

Dr. Fall was very sad to see his slaves leave him and really did not want to let them go. So he didn't tell them that they were free. But they found out when two mill men and others came and told them. They showed the slaves a

paper saying they were free. Lizzie's mother was one of the former slaves that left and went to work at the mill as a cook. Lizzie Hughes stayed with Fall for two years and then got married

Dr. Fall had two children who went to fight in the Civil War. They came back to Chireno safe. One was Calvin Fall, who served in the 3rd Sgt. Co. K., 1st Texas Infantry also in the Co. A., 1st Texas Infantry as 1st Lieutenant. He was captured at Fort DeRussy in Louisiana on March 14, 1864 then paroled to New Orleans and exchanged July 22, 1864 at Red River Landing. Calvin enlisted on May 5, 1862 and was discharged in May of 1865. Calvin Fall died November 19, 1919, and is buried in the Chireno Lower Cemetery.

Vail Fall was Dr. Fall's other boy that went to war. He was born December 4, 1844. He was a CSA soldier in Co. B, 3rd Brigade, Texas State Troops. Vail Fall died October 4, 1927.

Dr. John Newton Fall died November 13, 1866. He was fifty-six. He is buried in Chireno in the Lower Cemetery. His log cabin is preserved inside the structure of the Halbert House in Chireno, Texas. Minerva Hankla Atkinson Fall was born March 29, 1837 and died April 1, 1898.

How to Spell Chireno

When did the Spelling of Chireno change? In the *Handbook of Texas* the town is spelled Chireno like we spell it today. But the town was named for Jose Antonio Chirino, who spelled his name differently. General Land Office maps of the original grants spell the town's name Chirino as well. So when did the spelling of the name change? Some early census records spell Antonio's name as Chirino, but a few, including the 1850 census, spell it as Chireno. To complicate matters further, on the Tax Roll of 1837 a man named Santiago Cherano is listed as having property with a total valuation of $200.00.

Dr. Fall, in a letter from to A.A. Nelson of Nacogdoches on February 6, 1851, spelled the town's name as Chirino. The *Texas Almanac* published lists of post offices and postmasters and spelled the name of the town as Cherino from 1857 to1879 and Chireno from 1883 to 1964. In a schoolbook from 1911-1912 the name of the school is spelled Chireno High School. The Rev. George L. Crocket, in a letter to Mr. John Mettauer, spelled it Chirino. Was he thinking of the man or was the town spelled that way at the time? Then in the 1967-1968 telephone books the name is spelled Chireno for both the man and the name of the town.

POWs

On the Chireno-Etoile road there was a World War II prisoner-of-war camp. It was located on the A.J. Waters place four miles southwest of Chireno. Some POWs worked for the Sutton sawmill that was near the camp. The German POWs were in Chireno from 1943 to 1946.

The POW camp at Chireno was one of twelve camps in the Pineywoods. The site in Chireno was chosen for many reasons. It was on an excellent transportation route, the Angelina and Neches River Railroad, and was located in the thick forest surrounding Chireno that the lumber companies owned.

The POW Camp was built in March of 1943 and the first German prisoners came in May. The camp covered thirty acres, with the central compound sitting on five acres. There were 250 German prisoners at the camp. Some worked for the Frost Lumber Company or Suttons Mill, and some might have been from General Rommel's Africa Corps. The POW's who did work for the lumber companies were in groups of twelve and were looked after by an American truck driver, a labor pusher, and a U.S. Army soldier.

In his book about German POW camps in East Texas, historian Mark Choate said "the Germans worked the forests for two years and were a valuable asset to the timber industry." The number of prisoners decreased between the last months of 1945 and the early part of 1946. The camp then closed in March of 1946. A bad tornado swept through Chireno on January 6, 1946, and some of the German prisoners-of-war helped in the cleanup. The people of Chireno then saw that the POWs were just boys who were lonely and no different from their own young friends and family.

American armed guards at Camp Chireno would leave the camp headquarters at night to visit young women in Nacogdoches at the Stephen F. Austin State Teachers College WAC School. Some of the prisoners liked East Texas so much that after the war they decided to stay here.

Chireno School

Daniel H. Vail gave the present school campus to Chireno. But the earliest, little-known schools were private. Some ministers doubled as teachers. Some of the earliest teachers were Henderson Pelmem and Bill Anderson.

Anderson taught in Chireno about 1845, while Pelmem taught near the Little Settlement, which is about five miles from Chireno, around the same time. An 1852 Nacogdoches newspaper mentions The Chireno Female Institute, located at the site of the present school building. A child attending the academy would have to take exams to obtain a certificate. In 1854 a reference to Chireno Academy, under President John N. Fall, appeared in the Nacogdoches newspaper. Other records show that a school known as the "The Old Academy" was open in 1861.

Many local residents believe that the earliest public school in Chireno appeared about 1859. In the fall of 1866 a man from Georgia, Professor G.M.L. Smith, came to Chireno and taught until 1872. He taught the higher level subjects. He was principal of the school there for about ten years, and was said to be a strict disciplinarian but an excellent teacher. The remainder of his life was spent as a merchant at Chireno, where he died on September 28,1889. Matt Burke was the next teacher in Chireno. He taught from 1871 to 1875. A Professor Leonard was also here at this time. Educated in Oxford, England, Professor Leonard taught Latin, Greek, and trigonometry. Mr. Ed Matthews was an important educator and did a lot for education in Chireno. He taught between 1880 and 1892.

Teachers were paid poorly in the early years of the school. Some were paid with food or feed for their livestock. Mr. Callaway came from Georgia

and taught in Chireno for ten months in 1883 for $1000, which was a lot in those days. P.E. Walton, George Adams, Miss Wratten taught in 1912 and got paid $50 per month. A.W. Bell got paid $30 per month.

When children would come from out of town they would stay with Mrs. Mary Wilson, who owned a boarding house that still stands in Chireno today. Mrs. Bonnie Gray also had a boarding house for children. Some say that school in Chireno was very hard and one of the best schools around. Some students normally walked to school while others rode a horse or wagon. In the springtime they would get out early to help with crops on the farm.

The children learned from books like *McGuffey's Readers*, *Webster's Spelling Book*, *Davies' Arithmetic*, and *Monteith's Geography*. They would write on slate boards.

Records show that in 1897 there were both white and black schools in Chireno with a hundred students total attending classes. In 1905 there were 102 students in the white school and in 1911 it was classified as a high school. In 1916 only ten grades were taught. There have been three Chireno School buildings on the same site, two of which were made of wood and both of which burned. Wood burning stoves were used to keep the classrooms warm and this may have played a role in the fires. No records exist for the school between 1918 and 1928, because in 1928 the building and the records burned. A new, brick school building was built. With a new building came higher standards and growth. In 1929 Little's Chapel School was consolidated with Chireno; in 1931 Long Ridge School was added and in 1936 Bethel School also consolidated. An eleventh grade was added in 1934.

Sawmills, Stores, and Other Industries

There were nine large sawmills and many smaller mills in Nacogdoches County. Chireno, like other small towns, was closely identified with the logging industry. Chireno was the eastern terminus and a logging camp of the Angelina and Neches River Railroad. The Tilford-Hunt was a sawmill in Chireno in 1915. The mill would cut 35,000 feet of pine, white oak, and red oak daily. The mill was used a circular saw and had a planer and dry kilns attached to the building. The sawmill produced sixty per cent boards or lumber and forty per cent large timbers. The Chireno sawmill could cut, plane, and kiln-dry timbers up to twenty-four-feet in length as well as cut crossties.

Oscar H. Buckner owned and operated a small sawmill and cotton gin in Chireno. In 1910 he operated a gristmill on the Mast Creek near Melrose. A sawmill owned by The Sutton Lumber Company of Chireno was located two miles southwest of town on New Camp road. It occupied land on both sides of the Angelina and Neches River Railroad. This sawmill was a big part of the community of Chireno from about 1937 to 1962. T.O. Sutton and Sons owned the company and the sawmill. They moved the mill to Chireno from Centerview, Texas, in 1937. Sons Willard and Harold Sutton moved with the sawmill and built homes in the town.

People who worked for the sawmill could make about $17.50 per week.

The Suttons built houses all around the mill for people who worked there. The mill provided jobs for more than fifty Chireno families.

Chireno had two shoemakers, Uncle Jack Mast and Joe Stallings. They made their shoes on wooden lasts. Craig Wilson made saddle harness and other leather goods out of leather from the local tanning yard. There was also a dry goods store and a saloon at the beginning of the Civil War, both owned by a Mr. Buckner and a Mr. Farmer. Mr. Striver owned the furniture store in Chireno. By 1938 there was a bank, a drug store, two garages, a post office, three cafes, six grocery stores, two meat markets, two blacksmith shops, a barbershop, and a pressing shop.

There were two cotton gins in Chireno. Mr. Tucker operated the first, a small gin that was turned by hand. Around 1872 Jack Moss owned a watermill and gin near Cottingham Bridge.

In many ways, Chireno was a typical, rural small town. But, like all such places, it has its own unique past worthy of preservation.

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East Texas News and Events

By Mark Barringer

The William P. Clements Center for Southwest Studies in the Department of History at Southern Methodist University in Dallas has several programs of interest to East Texas historians. Research and travel grants to facilitate study at the Center and at SMU's DeGolyer Library are available for one and four weeks. The Center's collections include the papers of Stanley Marcus, Horton Foote, and the J.C. Penney Co. Applications for travel grants are available throughout the year.

The Center also will award three Bill and Rita Clements Research Fellowships to persons involved in humanities or social sciences research in the American Southwest. Fellows will reside at SMU during the 2006-2007 academic year, receive a substantial stipend and publication subvention, and have access to all of the Center's resources. For more information about either of these programs, contact the Clements Center at (214) 768-1233 or via email at swcenter@smu.edu.

The East Texas Historical Association held its forty-fourth annual Fall meeting in Nacogdoches on September 15, 16, and 17, 2005. Despite high fuel prices and hurricanes before and after the event, a near-record 200 persons attended sessions ranging from Thursday's "Hands-On History" to Saturday's round-table panel on former federal judge Sam B. Hall, Jr. To no one's surprise, the Thursday afternoon session titled "Hurricanes of East Texas," proved popular as well.

The ninth annual Max and Georgiana Lale lecture was held in the Grand Ballroom at Stephen F. Austin State University on Thursday, September 15, as part of the ETHA Fall meeting. David Grubin, a writer, director, producer, and cinematographer based in New York, spoke about the challenges of putting history on film. Featured during the presentation were clips from Grubin's two-part biography of Lyndon Baines Johnson, produced for A & E. Approximately 600 people attended the event, and Grubin continued the tradition of excellence that all have come to expect from the Lale Lecture.

ETHA President Cary Wintz delivered the banquet address on Friday, expounding on the past and the future of African American History in East Texas. At the luncheon on Saturday, Gary Joiner of Louisiana State University – Shreveport talked about the defense of Texas during the Civil War. Both events attracted large and enthusiastic crowds.

Professor Ralph Wooster received the Doris and Bob Bowman Best of East Texas Award at the ETHA Awards Banquet on Saturday, September 17, 2005. Few have done more to promote the history of the region than this noted Civil War scholar and long time Lamar University professor. Also at the luncheon, outgoing ETHA president Cary Wintz, professor of history at Texas Southern University, was named a Fellow of the Association, an honor reserved for only twenty-five living members at one time. James Hallmark of Panola College received the Ottis Lock Educator of the Year Award. Research

grants, also funded by the Ottis Lock Endowment, were presented to Gail K Beil of Marshall and Deborah Cole of Nacogdoches. The C.K. Chamberlain Award for the best article published in the *East Texas Historical Journal* during the previous year was presented to Mark Stanley for "The Death of Wright Patman," published in the Spring 2004 edition. The Lock award for Outstanding Book in East Texas history went to Ricky F. Dobbs for *Yellow Dogs and Republicans: Allan Shivers and Texas Two-Party Politics*, published by Texas A&M University Press. And a special achievement award went to John Warren Smith of Huntsville for his book titled *No Holier Spot of Ground*, published by Texas Review Press.

Huntsville will host the Spring meeting of the Association on February 16-18, 2006, and program chair Ty Cashion has enlisted dozens of presentations focused on the history of our region. Headquarters will be the University Inn, located on the campus of Sam Houston State University. Phi Alpha Theta, the honor society in history, will hold a regional meeting in conjunction with the ETHA in Huntsville. Students from several colleges and universities will attend, and members of both organizations should benefit from the interaction. If you teach, please encourage your students to attend and present their work; if you do not teach, please do all you can to encourage these students to remain involved in East Texas history by attending their sessions and showing them what a nurturing and stimulating scholarly environment an ETHA meeting can be. Program information, as well as registration and hotel reservation links, is available at http://www.easttexashistorical.org. For those who like to fill their calendars early, the Association has accepted an offer from Beaumont to host the Spring meeting 2007, so make plans accordingly.

The West Texas Historical Association will hold its annual meeting in Lubbock on March 31-April 1, 2006. Keith Owen of Lubbock Christian University chairs the program committee, assisted by Tom Alexander, Gene Preuss, Jean Stuntz, and Don Taylor. The ETHA will present a session at the West Texas meeting; Gail Beil and Joe Early will represent the East Texas region as presenters of papers along with Archie McDonald, who will preside at the session. The West Texans plan far ahead – the annual meeting of the WTHA in 2007 is scheduled for Abilene and in Canyon 2008. ETHA members who are interested in representing the Association at either of these meetings can contact the ETHA staff.

Other meetings and conferences of note include the 110th annual Texas State Historical Association meeting in Austin on March 2-4, 2006. Headquartered at the Austin Renaissance Hotel, the annual gathering of Texas lay and professional historians showcases the best recent scholarship on the history of the Lone Star State. Program information, registration, and hotel reservations are available at http://dev.tsha.utexas.edu/index.html. In addition to the usual conference activities, the 2006 meeting will feature a Gala and Texana Auction of the Century to close out the weekend on Saturday, March 4. Former TSHA president J. P. Bryan will chair the event. An original oil portrait of Stephen F. Austin by J. Purwill will likely draw the most attention from bidders and window-shoppers alike; also on display and available for bids will

be a 1920s-era silver mounted Mexican saddle with matching sword and sheath as well as original artwork by Tom Lea and Jose Cisneros. A tribute to the Texas History Maker of the Decade will accompany the dinner preceding the auction. For more information, go to http://www.tsha.utexas.edu/about/gala/gala.pdf.

The Texas Folklore Society will meet for the ninetieth time this spring, bringing together Texans of diverse backgrounds and disparate geographic locations to celebrate the unique culture and heritage of the state. The Society will gather in Galveston on April 15 and 16, 2006. For more information, contact the TFS at (936) 468-4407 or see the TFS website at http://texasfolklore-society.org.

The ETHA extends a warm welcome to Jacksonville College, our newest Institutional Member. Such members provide vital support for the programs and publications of the Association – if your local college, university, public library, or historical society does not hold an Institutional Membership in the ETHA, please encourage their directors or staff to participate in promoting the history of East Texas in this fashion.

ETHA executive director Archie P. McDonald has compiled a number of his popular National Public Radio commentaries into a volume titled *Back Then: Simple Pleasures and Everyday Heroes*, published by State House Press. McDonald's easygoing radio style translates well to written form, and this is sure to be a popular item for those who enjoy hearing about East Texas' past on a personal level. *Back Then* is available through the Texas A&M University Press consortium; for more information, see http://www.tamu.edu/upress/MCWHINEY/mcgen.html.

The A.C. McMillan African American Museum in Emory is hosting an exhibit that traces the development of Rosenwald schools in East Texas. The exhibit includes photos from an era when racial segregation was the norm in Texas schools, as well as biographies of local African American school officials who were instrumental in building and staffing Rosenwald schools to educate black Texans. As part of the exhibit, a classroom replica from the Sand Flat Rosenwald School, which the museum is involved in renovating, is on display. The exhibit runs through April 2006. In addition, an original exhibit titled "African American Pioneers in Rains County" will open soon as part of the observance of the museum's sixth anniversary. Admission to all museum exhibits is free, and the facility is open Thursday through Saturday from 10:00 a.m. to 4:00 p.m. For more information, or to arrange a guided tour, call Ted or Gwen Lawe at (903) 474-0083.

The Sixth Annual Battle of San Jacinto Symposium will be held on Saturday, April 22, 2006 at the Hilton Hotel and Conference Center on the University of Houston campus. Speakers include Jim Crisp, Felix Almaraz, Archie McDonald, Jerry Drake, Jonathan Jordan, and Andres Resendez. The event is sponsored by the Friends of the San Jacinto Battleground. For more information, contact Trevia Wooster Beverly at treviawbeverly@houston.rr.com.

Earl Elam, retired professor from Sul Ross State University and founder of the Center for Big Bend Studies, has a new project of interest to East Texas Historical Association members. Elam is reviving the Hill College Press imprint, which for nearly thirty years published books related to Texas and the Civil War. The emphasis is being expanded to include Texas and Texans in all wars and the history of central Texas. Those who may have a manuscript fitting this description should contact Dr. Elam at Hill College, Box 619, Hillsboro, Texas, 76645, (254) 582-5717, or via email at eelam@hillcollege.edu.

Bob and Doris Bowman of Lufkin, who have been involved in writing and promoting Texas history in general and East Texas history in particular for many years, have announced the East Texas History Series of books to be published through the ETHA. Beginning in 2006 and continuing annually, manuscripts relating to the history of East Texas will be solicited and evaluated for publication. Proceeds from the sale of the finished books will go to the Association. This series is a tremendous addition to the ETHA's already impressive lineup of programs, all of which the Bowmans have supported for many years. For more information, or to inquire about submitting a manuscript, contact the ETHA at amcdonald@sfasu.edu. And please, thank Bob and Doris the next time you see them for their most generous support of East Texas history.

BOOK NOTES

By Archie P. McDonald

This section takes note of the publication of recent books relating to our area. Sometimes books are so noticed because they attract the editor's attention, because we fail to receive a review from a reviewer, because we fail to locate an appropriate reviewer for a particular book. We value all books sent to us, and both thank and encourage publishers of Texana, especially general and East Texana, to continue to send us the yield of your labor so we might take notice of it.

We begin with a remarkable little book by James E. Crisp titled *Sleuthing The Alamo: Davy Crockett's Last Stand and Other Mysteries of the Texas Revolution* (Oxford University Press, 198 Madison Avenue, New York 10016 $20), which is part of Oxford's New Narratives in American History Series. Crisp has been at the center of Alamo-related historiographical disputes for more than a decade but until now his arguments have been delivered through articles, oral presentations, and media appearances. Crisp begins with an autobiographical account of dealing with racism in his hometown and state, including his years as a student at Rice University. He is the leading contemporary authority on the history of the Alamo despite a teaching career spent in North Carolina, and is a marvelous historical detective. Disputes over the authenticity of Enrique de la Pena's diary is at the heart of many historigraphical arguments about events at the Battle of the Alamo, and Crisp, after decades of research, accepts the diary as creditable. Because I came to that same conclusion many years ago while doing research for a biography of William Barret Travis, naturally I agree with him. But more, this is a well-written book filled with illustrations of how to do analysis of primary sources. Texans need to read this book, but graduate students everywhere could profit from learning its lessons about research.

Monte Jones, *Biscuits O'Bryan: Texas Storyteller* (State House Press, McMurry Station, Box 637, Abilene, TX 79697-0637, $18.95), is the fifth entry in State House's Texas Heritage Series. Previous publications in the series are by Elmer Kelton, James Bruce Frazier, Dock Dilworth Parramore, and Glenn Dromgoole; the first three feature tales of growing up in West Texas but Dromgoole's work is based on his experiences in Sour Lake, Texas. Jones is an Episcopal priest who created an alternative character named Biscuits O'Bryan, camp cook for the I.O. Everybody Ranch, for a covered wagon dinner, only to have Biscuits take over his life. Jones' account assumes the Biscuits character only in the eighteenth, or last chapter, of this collection. The "tall tales" in the first seventeen segments are redeemed by our recollections of similar scrapes and escapades with firecrackers, bicycles, kits, and childhood friends.

Charles Brooks' annual *Best Editorial Cartoons of the Year, 2005 Edition* (Pelican Publishing Company, 1000 Burmaster St., Gretna, LA 70053) continues a tradition of over two decades. The collection begins with Pulitzer,

Herblock, Scripps-Howard, National Headliner, and Fisschetti awards for political cartoons that usually appear on editorial pages in newspapers. The remainder of the cartoons are arranged into categories that reflect the preponderance of what concerned us in 2004 – the presidential campaign, Iraq and terrorism, the Bush Administration, politics, foreign affairs, media and entertainment, the economy, health and the environment, military affairs, education, society, sports, space and air travel, a miscellany of "other issues," and a special section on Canada that is best understood by Canadians. One might say that the first five divisions are pretty much the same issue. Some of the cartoons bear biting criticism of the Bush Administration and its policies, others pander to it. And even four years after his presidency ended, poor old Bill Clinton still stars in some critical cartoons. These collections have several values: they identify what was what in a particular when; they draw our approval or disapproval all over again depending on our own political orientation; they bring evidence to the argument that the "vast conspiracy" really is on the right, which controls most media; and that, basically, we all like cartoons.

Michael A. Jenkins, *Playbills and Popcorn: True Tales of Theatre, Tourism and Travel* (Eakin Press: Austin, 2004) is Jenkins' personal history in show business, especially as manager of Dallas Summer Musicals and president of LARC (Leisure and Recreation Concepts), planners and promoters of over 1,000 theme and amusement parks in approximately thirty-five countries and forty-four of the United States, including 400 or more in Texas. Jenkins manages an international business and a national entertainment enterprise that requires travel all over Texas, the Americas, and what is left of the world. I expect he will be responsible for the first Ferris Wheel on the moon. Naturally, those professions and travels have produced some marvelously interesting and sometimes funny anecdotes, which Jenkins relates in a warm, engaging way. Since I share most of his attitudes and manners about people, I'll recommend his book to anyone wanting to read something pleasant about a Texan.

A.C. Greene, *Chance Encounters: True Stories of Unforeseen Meetings, with Unanticipated Results* (Bright Sky Press, Albany, Texas and New York, New York, 2002; re-released 2005), is a delightful collection of biographical essays by Old Friend A.C. Greene worked for several newspapers, including dailies in Abilene and Dallas (*Times Herald* and *Morning News*), as entertainments, books, and managing editors, which yielded many of his celebrity meetings, but some, resulted just from A.C. being A.C. A few of the famous folk presented here became life-long friends; others moved through his life only briefly, and I swear the mysterious, unidentified young oil man from Midland who lured A.C. to the Petroleum Club has to have the initials G.W.B. Apart from his two wives, reading these essays lead me to think that A.C. loved Natalie Wood longest and best; and probably Judge T. Whitfield Davison the least. The best part of this is realizing (again) how great a master wordsmith A.C. was. So good, in fact, that I am going to forgive him for writing that FDR ran against Republican Wendell Wilkie for his fourth term in 1944. Wilkie ran in 1940; Roosevelt defeated Thomas E. Dewey in 1944. There. I finally discovered that A.C. was human and not just mortal. R.I.P., Old Friend.

Quotable Texas Women, compiled by Susie Kelly Flatau and Lou Halsell Rodenberger (State House Press, McMurry Station, Box 637, Abilene, TX 79697-0637), is a square book – literally. It measures 6" X 6", and is filled with "sayings" attributed to approximately 250 ladies associated with Texas – they weren't all born here, in other words, but became important to political, economic, and social Texas. The organization follows the alphabet – what quotable things these notables said about Adventure through Writers & Writings. Flatau and Rodengerger collected these hundreds of statements because "Texas women...have a long tradition of saying things that should be remembered." I agree. Here are three examples: first, "The first rule of holes: when you're in one, stop digging" (Molly Ivins); second, "It's an honor to be the first woman of the Supreme Court, but it will be even better when we get the second cowgirl on the Supreme Court" (Sandra Day O'Connor); and third, "It's not just enough to swing at the ball. You've got to loosen your girdle and let'er fly" (Babe Didrikson Zaharias). Reviewing the yield, it may be concluded that Betty Sue Flowers, director of the LBJ Library, is the most quotable woman in Texas – she tops in this collection with twenty quotations; Barbara Jordon has thirteen, and former Governor Ann Richards has only four.

Marion Stegeman Hodgson, *Winning My Wings: A Woman Air Force Service Pilot In World War II* (Bright Sky Press, Box 416, Albany, TX 76430) is an autobiographical account of one woman's service during WWII. Marion Hodgson qualifies for membership in the Greatest Generation. A native of Georgia, she took a preliminary course in flying because it was free. Hooked, when the war began she abandoned a career in stenography to enter the women's flight service, which was intended to release men pilots from ferrying duties for more martial roles. Hodgson trained at a service field located near Sweetwater, then was stationed at Love Field in Dallas, but she flew all over the United States ferrying new aircraft from factories to duty stations. She tells her story with a narrative that accompanies scores of letters. In the beginning, she wrote monthly to her mother in Athens, Georgia; later most letters were addressed to a Marine pilot from her hometown, Ned Hodgson. They married before the end of the war, and later made their home in Texas. Though Hodgson and other Women Air Force Service Pilots (WASPs) dressed and operated under military discipline, they remained civilians and were denied veteran's recognition and benefits until the 1970s, which they achieved largely through the efforts of Senator Barry Goldwater of Arizona and Congresswoman Lindy Boggs of Louisiana. Boggs also wrote a foreword for *Winning My Wings*.

A couple of unusual items for noting are *100 Great Things About Texas*, compiled by Glenn Dromgoole (State House Press, McMurry Station, Box 637, Abilene, Texas 79697, $6.95), a pocket-sized book that lists one great thing about Texas per page. My favorites are, #16 – "The horned toad, like some other native Texans, puffs itself up to twice its normal size;" #40 – "If you say you're an Aggie, a Longhorn, a Red Raider, or a Horned Frog, no one has to ask where you went to college;" and for the benefit of my wife and granddaughter, #74 – "The first shopping center in the county was built in

Texas (Highland Park)." If more than ten minutes are required to get through this little book, the reader is stopping to chuckle a great deal.

We also note a Historic Fashions Calendar for 2006 titled *Western Wear, 1850-2000*, designed by Lindsay Starr with introductory addresses by Laurel Wilson and Dennita Sewell (Texas Tech University Press, 2903 4th Street, Lubbock Texas 79409). This is a bonafide calendar which offers something practical, but the real point is to show off Western fashions: January – chaps, boots; February – a fancy show suit, trimmed in red; March – dresses and accessories made of rattlesnake skins; April – leather coats; May – costumes; June – women's wear; July – hats; August – fringed jackets; September – Native American dress; October – *vaquero* costume; November – beaded wear; and December – "Rhinestone Cowboy." The calendar is useful, the photos colorful, and the accompanying narrative interesting. I might wear one of the featured hats.

Aggie Savvy: Practical Wisdom from Texas A&M, by Glenn Dromgoole (State House Press, Box 637, McMurry Station, Abilene, TX 79697). Dromgoole ('66), adds commentary to over fifty photographs by Dave McDermand, Allan Pearson, Sharon Aeschbach, Glen Johnson, Butch Ireland, Adam Beaugh, Kati Barrett, Jim Lyle, Larry Wadsworth, Dromgoole himself, and items from the Texas A&M Archives. McDermand, who receives credit for the cover photo and nineteen others, contributed the most photographs. Most concentrate on student activities, especially leisure, athletics, and the Aggie marching band, all focusing on that fabled Aggie spirit. Even the opening photo features "HOWDY" on the T-shirts of five Aggies. My old prof Frank Vandiver, who ended up an Aggie despite starting out at the University of Texas and spending a spell at Rice, used to say that there was an Aggie in the heart of every Texas girl. Frank may have gotten that correct. Dromgoole's introduction is brief but good. Here's my favorite sentence: "Graduates do not become ex-Aggies after they leave Aggieland but rather 'former students.' They are expected to be Aggies the rest of their lives." And so they are.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Alamo, Frank Thompson (University of North Texas Press, P.O. Box 311336, Denton, TX 76203-1336) 2005. Reprint 2002. Contents. B&W and color illus. Biblio. Index. P. 128. $24.95. Paperback.

Of all the subjects embroiled in Texas history, few have been the subjects of books more frequently than the Alamo, the enduring symbol of courage and sacrifice for the cause of liberty.

Calling Frank Thompson's *The Alamo* a paperback somehow does not do it justice. It is more than that – a lavishly printed, well-designed keepsake that creates an accurate picture of the battle that shaped Texas.

Thompson also explores the Alamo as a fixture in entertainment, literature, and marketing. Blending color and black-and-white photos with movie posters, old illustrations, drawings, and other memorabilia, he develops an interesting and visually exciting story of the Alamo's evolution as an American icon.

While other Alamo books have focused on the Alamo's principals – William B. Travis, Davy Crockett, Jim Bowie, *et al,* Thompson's book contains something many other books have regrettably omitted – a list of the defenders who died on March 6, 1836, the non-combatants, and the survivors.

For this, I thank him. On page 22, I found my great-great-grandfather, Jesse B. Bowman, one of those who died.

Bob Bowman
Lufkin, Texas

Uniforms of the Alamo and the Texas Revolution and the Men who Wore them 1835-1836, Bruce Marshall (Schiffer Publishing Ltd., Atglen, PA) 2003. Maps. Color plates. P. 80. $24.95. Paperback.

Uniforms of the Alamo and the Texas Revolution, and the Men who Wore Them, 1835-1836, is a sequel by popular demand to the first book by Bruce Marshall, *Uniforms of the Republic of Texas, And the Men That Wore Them, 1836-1846*. Both books have been long overdue in dispelling the generally accepted conception that the armies of Texas in the revolution and republic were clad indifferently in rustic frontier garb, homespun, and buckskins.

This was true for many during the revolution, but by no means all. Surprisingly, there were uniformed Texas units in all of the major battles of the Texas Revolution – Bexar, the Alamo, Goliad (Coleto), and San Jacinto.

Marshall, an internationally honored artist, provides twenty-one color plates of the uniforms of both the Texan and Mexican armies, and maps of the Alamo and San Jacinto are supplied by his artist son, Randy Marshall. The

illustrations include depictions of the flags, weapons and insignia of both armies.

There is a full history of the military campaign and the background leading to the clash of cultures. Of special interest is the inclusion of considerable long-suppressed testimony by a number of Texas officers and soldiers challenging the generally accepted historical version of the Texas Revolution and portraying the Texas commander, General Sam Houston, as a master strategist who, alone, deserved full credit for saving Texas.

Marshall presents credible evidence that Houston was, in fact, a military incompetent who had no intention of fighting anywhere in Texas, not even at San Jacinto, but intended to retreat to the United States border, hoping the U.S. Army would then intervene. This plan was upset by near-mutiny in his rebellious army, who refused to retreat further and themselves chose the route to San Jacinto. Even in the battle Houston sounded retreat, but his officers countermanded his order and continued the battle until total victory. This is quite a different story than the schoolbook version, but it is backed up by solid research on Marshall's part.

The foreword is by Brigadier General John C.L. Scribner, command historian of the Texas National Guard and director of the Texas Military Forces Museum.

Rob Jones
Austin, Texas

Alexander Campbell: Adventure in Freedom, A Literary Biography, Eva Jean Wrather, Duane Cummins, Editor (Texas Christian University Press, P.O. Box 297050, Fort Worth, TX 76129) 2005. Contents. Map. Illus. Index. P. 264. $25.00. Hardcover.

Alexander Campbell was one of the most significant individuals in American Christianity. As the founder of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ), Campbell began one of the first truly American denominations. Since so few books have ever been written on Alexander Campbell, a strong biography is well overdue.

The story behind the book is as interesting as the book itself. Eva Jean Wrather spent more than seventy years researching, writing, and re-writing a history of Campbell that resulted in a 700,000-word manuscript that she never finished. Following her death, Duane Cummins assumed the project and *Alexander Campbell: Adventure in Freedom, A Literary Novel,* is the first book of a planned trilogy based on Wrather's research.

Wrather's goal was to present a detailed account of Alexander Campbell's life with particular attention to the events that led to the birth of

the Christian Church. The book portrays the life and religious confrontations of Alexander and his father, Thomas, as they moved from Ulster, Scotland, to Washington, Pennsylvania. The book is beautifully written, and the style makes Campbell's character come alive.

The book, however, is much more novel than biography. The text has no bibliography or notations, and thus the reader is asked to rely on the author's research and her interpretation of Campbell's life. Given the lack of documentation, it is often difficult to determine if Wrather is talking for Campbell or Campbell is talking for himself. This makes it difficult to determine the sequence of the development of Campbell's theology and later Christian Church theology. Alexan*der Campbell: Adventure in Freedom* is an excellent book for a casual read by a layperson who wants to know more about Campbell and the Christian Church, but its scholarly value is limited by the same style that makes it so enjoyable to read.

Joe Early, Jr.
University of the Cumberlands

Texas Roots: Agriculture and Rural Life before the Civil War, C. Allan Jones (Texas A&M University Press, 4354 TAMU, College Station, TX 77843-4354) 2005. Contents. Maps. Illus. Notes. Biblio. Index. P. 256. S40. Hardcover. $19.95. Paperback.

C. Allen Jones has provided scholars with a useful reference tool concerning rural life in *antebellum* Texas. Jones serves as director of the Texas Water Research Institute and has held positions with the Agricultural Research Corporation in Brazil and the Texas Agricultural Experiment Station. He has published articles on various agricultural topics, so he certainly has an expertise in the subject.

Texas Roots takes an in-depth look at the agricultural techniques, ranching styles, dwellings, and trade of rural Hispanic families under Spanish and Mexican rule, and Texians during the Republic and early statehood phases of Texas history. It reflects the history of those eras, and provides insight into the difficulties of rural life which competed with hostile Native peoples, droughts, floods, and the great distances from markets to forge a successful agricultural base for the economy of early Texas.

The author relies heavily on primary documents, which are familiar to many scholars of the era, but read from a different angle. Documents that have provided political, economic, and social historians with vital information also reveal a great deal about the environment, which played an even larger role in the daily lives of our ancestors than it does today. Jones has gleaned these sources for information which he presents in chapters concerned with Native American farming methods, mission agriculture, rancheros, small-scale south-

ern farms, plantations, and major crops of the *antebellum* era.

This reader can find only one shortcoming. The absence of a conclusion leaves the book failing to synthesize and provide the significance of the work. This point aside, the illustrations by the author are helpful, and the research sound. *Texas Roots* is a reliable reference tool for libraries, a solid addition to reading seminars in Texas or environmental history, and a nice addition to personal libraries.

Kevin Z. Sweeney
Wayland Baptist University

Brush Men & Vigilantes: Civil War Dissent in Texas, David Pickering and Judy Falls (Texas A&M University Press, 4354 TAMU, College Station, TX 77843-4354) 2000. 2004. 2nd Print. Contents. Maps. Illus. Notes. Biblio. P. 223. $16.95. Paperback.

In *Brush Men & Vigilantes,* Pickering and Falls debunk the myth that Texans were strong supporters of the Confederacy during the Civil War. Focusing on Hopkins and Hunt counties, the authors state that many "Brush Men" were willing to risk everything to support pro-Union causes in Northeast Texas.

Tension began in the area with the immigration of "Upper South" immigrants who tended to favor abolition. "Lower South" pro-slavery cotton farmers immigrated soon after. When the Civil War began, Confederates used vigilante justice on the pro-Union "brush men" hiding in Jernigan's Thicket near Commerce, from which they conducted guerilla-style raids. Hanging Unionists was commonplace in the Northeast Texas region, and the authors point to the infamous Henby-Howard hangings as an example of such brutal violence during the war. Many Unionists eventually joined the United States Army, but some stayed to fight the war at home. The authors conclude that historians have ignored these pro-Union soldiers because of Texans' strong ties to their Confederate heritage plus a lack of historical accounts.

Pickering and Falls give an excellent, detailed account of a little known part of Texas Civil War history. The endnotes and maps are helpful for further research. However, with the litany of names and events in the book, it can be hard to track a character's wartime loyalties. The book will attract a limited audience – residents of the highlighted counties and local Civil War historians. Overall, for East Texans searching for their Civil War heritage and the lesser-known truth of this area, *Brush Men* is an enjoyable read.

Carrie Pritchett
Northeast Texas Community College

Robert E. Lee in Texas, Carl Coke Rister (University of Oklahoma Press, 4100 28th Ave NW, Norman, OK 73069) 1946. Reprint 2004. Contents. Illus. Map. Biblio. Index. P. 183. $19.95. Paperback.

Many historians have chronicled the life of Robert E. Lee, highlighting his spotless record as a cadet at West Point and his exploits in the Mexican and Civil War. One small chapter of his life that receives little scholarship was the time he spent in Texas. Carl Coke Rister examines the five years, 1856-1861, that Lee spent in the Lone Star State in detail in his book, *Robert E. Lee in Texas*. Rister explained how Lee's life on the Texas frontier prepared him physically, mentally, and spiritually for the harsh conditions he experienced during the Civil War.

In 1856, the Second United States Cavalry, garrisoned in Texas, became Lee's first field command. In Texas, Lee experienced the harsh living conditions of the Texas frontier, which included unpredictable weather and poor food with little variety. Some of the major events that marked Lee's stay in Texas included an expedition to capture hostile Comanches in west Texas and the Cortina Wars along the Rio Grande. The rest of the time Lee spent in various camps and forts and traveling to courts martial hearings in south Texas. Even though his initial impression of the state was poor, Texas and the men who served under him grew on Lee and changed him.

Overall, this is an interesting book to read. It is well researched and includes many memoirs and letters from Lee and the people he met while in Texas. By using these sources, Rister provides a clear picture of the years Lee spent in Texas. He demonstrates the conditions on the Texas frontier that people experienced before the Civil War and the last peaceful years of Lee's life before the secession crisis.

Charles David Grear
Texas Christian University

Alexander Watkins Terrell: Civil War Soldier, Texas Lawmaker, American Diplomat, Lewis L. Gould (University of Texas Press, P.O. Box 7819, Austin, TX 78713-7819) 2004. Contents. Illus. Notes. Biblio. Index. P. 223. $29.95. Hardcover.

Texas After the Civil War: The Struggle of Reconstruction, Carl Moneyhon (Texas A&M University Press, 4354 TAMU, College Station, TX 77843-4354) 2004. Contents. Maps. Illus. Notes. Biblio. Index. P. 237. $19.95. Paperback. $45. Hardcover.

At last the long wait is over! A generation of revisionist scholars who have waited patiently for a new comprehensive synthesis on Reconstruction Texas will celebrate the publication of Carl Moneyhon's *Texas After the Civil*

War. For nearly 100 years, the only single-volume, comprehensive study has been Charles Ramsdell's *Reconstruction in Texas* (1910). One might add to the list William C. Nunn's *Texas Under the Carpetbaggers* (1962). By modern standards, both works are problematic because of the authors' personal biases. So teachers have pieced the story of Reconstruction Texas together from a variety of book chapters, journal articles, dissertations, and theses. Thanks to Moneyhon's study, those days are over.

According to Moneyhon, Texas was on the verge of meaningful economic, social, and political changes between 1865 and 1874. The emancipation of slaves, economic destabilization, and a breakdown in the *antebellum* political structure promised to revolutionize Texas, potentially turning it into a modern state. Throughout the era, Republicans, who gained control between 1870 and 1874, introduced measures which promised to change the political and economic landscape of Texas. But, by the end of 1874 it became evident that the radical revolution was over. Reconstruction had failed. While no longer held as slaves, African Americans fell victim to poverty and racism which limited their economic and political autonomy. The state's economy, which had recovered from postwar depression, remained dependent upon cotton as its primary cash crop, and Democrats regained control and dismantled most of the Republican's initiatives.

Contrary to traditionalists' interpretations, Moneyhon claims that Texas Democrats were responsible for the failure of Reconstruction in the state. He contends that Republican reforms threatened the survival of the state's *antebellum* Democratic Party, plantation economy, and racist attitudes that supported both. Fearing a complete loss of control, Democratic leaders and wealthy planters used every means to ensure that Republicans failed in their attempt to bring meaningful reform to the state. Democrats created a white majority by using violence, election fraud, and racial propaganda to defeat the Republican politicians and to keep black Texans from participating fully in the electoral process. Republicans ultimately lost control of Reconstruction because they refused to engage their political enemies in a full-scale civil and racial war. As a result, leading Democrats left Texans a legacy of "a single-crop agricultural system that dominated the economy and racial repression that lasted into next century" (p. 5).

Although Moneyhon reveals little new information on the story of Reconstruction, his effort to provide a new interpretation of the subject should prompt further research on a variety of topics, including a comprehensive study of the Texas Democratic Party, a detailed examination of the effect Republican programs had on the state, and additional analyses of black Texans' response to freedom. Moneyhon has produced a valuable source for students and scholars of Reconstruction Texas, and his work should become a classic, perhaps even enjoying a longer shelf life than Ramsdell's work.

Lewis Gould's *Alexander Watkins Terrell* is a well-written biography of a noted nineteenth-century Texas politician. Gould has written his book in way that captures the reader's attention and refuses to let it go. Though Gould fol-

lows the convention of most biographers by taking readers through a cradle-to-grave account of his subject, A.W. Terrell's life is full of so many twists and turns that the story reads like a modern-day adventure novel. While space prevents a full discussion of Terrell's achievements, his major accomplishments included serving as a district judge, a Democratic lawyer in the Semi-Colon court case (1873-1874), a member of both the Texas Senate (1876-1884) and the Texas House of Representatives (1891-1892 and 1903-1906), America's minister to Turkey in President Grover Cleveland's administration, and a reporter for the Texas Supreme Court for more than a decade.

Terrell also was the architect of several pieces of key legislation. During his terms as a senator, he introduced legislation that established the state's educational system after Reconstruction. He also wrote the law that created the University of Texas, which included provisions for co-education and the establishment of the Permanent School Fund. During his first term in the Texas House he supported and contributed to the legislation that established the Texas Railroad Commission, and during his later terms he served as the primary author of the Terrell Election Laws of 1903 and 1905, which reduced the role of African Americans in state politics and allowed the Democratic Party to gain complete control of the electoral process.

In addition to his ability as a legislative architect, Terrell fought for the Confederacy in the Red River Campaign of 1864. During a key point in the battle, his unit became separated from other Confederate forces. It took Terrell and his men a day to find and rejoin the main body of the army. Shortly after the battle, a rumor circulated that Terrell had shown cowardice in the face of the enemy. After the war, he painfully realized that any chance he had to run for higher political office in Texas was wrecked by this rumor.

One of the more interesting aspects of Gould's work is the author's explanation of why Terrell, a man of talent and ability, never rose to high state or national office. Aside from the rumor about cowardice, Gould contends that Terrell's problem was his aloof mannerism, which many of his contemporaries mistook for condescension and conceit. Gould reveals that Terrell tended "toward deceit, excessive cleverness, and meanness toward his political enemies" to accomplish his political objectives (p. xii). Gould concludes that leading Democrats were willing to profit from Terrell's abilities as a lawmaker and legislative draftsman, but few of his colleagues liked him as a person and even fewer trusted him.

One of the best aspects of this study is the author's balanced view of his subject. Unlike other biographers, who assume the role of public defender more than historian, Gould does not attempt to dismiss Terrell's many character flaws. He explains, "the good and bad in Terrell were mixed together. Racism and reform coexisted in his mind in ways that produced constructive change in some areas and deplorable legislation in others" (pp.167-168). Gould reminds us that Terrell was a product of the society in which he lived, a society just as complex and difficult to understand as the one in which we live.

Both Moneyhon's and Gould's studies advance our understanding of Texas's checkered past. Moneyhon provides scholars with a balanced synthesis of Texas Reconstruction, focusing on primarily on economic and political events between 1865 and 1877. Gould provides a detailed analysis of one man's struggle to survive the vast changes taking place in Texas during late in the nineteenth and early in the twentieth centuries.

Kenneth W. Howell
Prairie View A&M University

True Women and Westward Expansion, Adrienne Caughfield (Texas A&M University Press, 4354 TAMU, College Station, TX 77843-4354) 2005. Contents. Notes. Biblio. Index. P. 178. $32.95. Hardcover.

True Women and Westward Expansion is a window into what Texas women thought about westward expansion and their role in achieving that expansionist goal of the United States in the nineteenth century. This work is the result of completing Caughfield's dissertation at Texas Christian University. It also earned her inclusion in the Elma Dill Russell Spencer series on the West and Southwest. Caughfield explored the letters, diaries, and published works of Texas women, though admittedly Native Americans, Hispanic, and blacks had less of a written record than did white women. Much of what is known of the minority groups' views came from secondhand accounts.

Caughfield chose Texas women because Texas was the focus of much of the nation's interest in manifest destiny during the forty years before the Civil War. From interest in Texas grew the desire to "complete" the national borders and even to press on into Mexico and Central America. As women struggled on the frontier to live up to the ideals of the popular notion of the role of women, known as the Cult of True Womanhood, they used their influence to forward the progress of Manifest Destiny. Under the dictates of True Womanhood, this meant preserving the marks of civilization – home and family as well as supporting the rule of law through the establishment of churches and schools. What Caughfield found was that women did not remain in the private sector of society to promote these causes. "Although in a limited fashion in accordance with the dictates of true womanhood... women were able to function publicly [through] voluntary associations and benevolent societies" (p. 7), to participate in the ongoing pro-expansionist activities of their menfolk. Assistance for the goals of Manifest Destiny came in the form of contributions women traditionally made – banners, food, money, nursing the soldiers, information, letters to dignitaries they knew, and even participation in filibustering themselves. "The true woman, then, would tend to agree with the rationale behind territorial aggrandizement and, within her separate sphere, work toward it" (p. 9).

What Caughfield has done is call attention to the heretofore-neglected role of women in the Manifest Destiny process. It is not that the role of women was unknown, rather that women's support was not considered equally important to the recorded and overt actions of the men. She admirably rectifies that imbalance through her thoroughly researched book. It is comparable to the proverbial pair of scissors. It takes both halves of the scissors to cut the material.

A flaw throughout the book I found irritating was the frequent use of quotation marks around any past belief that she considered politically incorrect for the twenty-first century. I also found it presumptuous to say that women who survived the ordeal of being an Indian hostage exaggerated their experience (p. 33). How could she *know* except through an educated *guess*? The work also could have benefited from less use of parenthetical conclusions that could just as well been part of the narrative.

Nevertheless, there can be no doubt about the critical influence women had through being "True Women" who supported the Manifest Destiny of the United States until the Civil War absorbed all thoughts and actions.

Priscilla Benham
University of Houston Downtown

Buffalo Days: Stories from J. Wright Mooar, As told to James Winford Hunt, Robert F. Pace, editor (State House Press, McMurry, Box 637, Abilene, TX, 79697) 2005. Contents. Epilog. Endnotes. Index. P. 126. $19.95. Hardcover.

Published previously in 1933 in serial form in a Dallas, Texas, magazine, *Buffalo Days* is an interesting collection of short stories told by a well known and aging buffalo hunter, J. Wright Mooar, to James W. Hunt. Mooar was a professional buffalo hunter of some reputation whose adventures on the southern plains began in 1871 and continued for a decade. The man who put these stories on paper was James Winford Hunt, a respected Methodist preacher who founded McMurry College in Abilene, Texas, and became the college's first president. This is an interesting book and a good present, and I recommend it.

Jesse Chisholm: Ambassador of the Plains, Stan Hoig (University of Oklahoma Press, 2800 Venture Dr., Norman, OK 73069) 2005. Reprint 1991. Contents. Illus. Map. Notes. Biblio. Index. P. 226. $19.95. Paperback

Stan Hoig tells us much more about Jesse Chisholm, a somewhat shadowy figure, than just his trail blazing ability. Half Cherokee, Chisholm was a linguist who could speak several Indian languages, scout, friend, and diplomat

among several Indians tribes, and an entrepreneur, cattleman, explorer, who also tried a host of other things during his fascinating life. Over sixty years of age when he died just after the Civil War, Jesse Chisholm was a man who was often decades ahead of his contemporaries. Remembered in history for the cattle trail that bears his name, this book will expose the reader to a man who lived a life of untold adventure. Definitely recommended.

The True Life Wild West Memoir of a Bush-Popping Cow Waddy, Charlie Hester, Kirby Ross, editor (University of Nebraska Press, 233 North 8th St. Lincoln, NE 68588-0255) 2004. Contents. Notes. Maps. P. 141. $13.95. Paperback.

These short stories are the product of Charlie Hester, who dictated them to a friend when he was approximately eighty-six years old. They are not particularly well written, and contain little if any insight into the name-dropping, long list of gunmen included in the book. It is also hard to determine whether Hester actually saw, heard about, or was just told some story about the men he discusses in the book.

Allen G. Hatley
Eagle Lake, Texas

No Holier Spot of Ground, John Warren Smith (Texas Review Press, English Department, Sam Houston State University, Huntsville, TX 77341) 2004. Contents. Illus. Maps. Appendices. Notes. Biblio. P. 629. $21.95. Paperback.

John Warren Smith has undertaken a grand epic in telling the story of the Smith family of the Trinity River Valley in Texas. Smith follows the South Carolina family from the 1830s to 1869, and, for the reader, his novel-style writing makes the characters come alive. The main character of this book, John Stephen Smith, is plagued by misfortune as he creates Smith Plantation on a bend of the Trinity River, losing first his wife, Nancy Jane, to scarlet fever; then his second wife, Elizabeth, in childbirth; and undertaking a search for a wet nurse to care for the youngest of his four children, in the slave-breeding farm in the countryside near Huntsville, Texas.

Smith covers challenges to Smith land title in the Cincinnati, Texas, area where the Smith Plantation was located, as well as the problems generated by failure to record the wills of Frederick Pomeroy and Isaac Tousey after they died of yellow fever. Later, he covers the terrible chase, complete with a pack of dogs in pursuit, of Calpurnia, a teenage female slave, caught sitting down and talking back to her overseer. Her drowning in the Trinity River is excused by John Stephen Smith with "She chose her own grave."

No Holier Spot of Ground moves along quickly through ninety-nine short chapters in which the author has captured the settling of Walker and Montgomery Counties faithfully. If there is a negative to this book, it lies in the early chapters where the author goes overboard in his "asides" to the reader. The book would also benefit from an editors eliminating duplicate words and grammatical errors.

In time, *No Holier Spot of Ground* will become a treasured account of the 1830-1869 periods in Texas history.

Beverly J. Rowe
Texarkana College

Bleed, Blister, and Purge: A History of Medicine on the American Frontier, Volney Steele, MD (Mountain Press Publishing Company, P.O. Box 2399, Missoula, MT 59806) 2005. Contents. Illus. Notes. Glossary. Index. P. 368. $15. Paperback.

The period between 1860 and 1910 was a transitional one for medicine with a mixture of science, folk medicine, quackery, and medicine men. Steele documents the contributions of hardy physicians practicing under primitive conditions to bring the best of the new medical knowledge to the frontier in his book.

Steele presents a didactic and protean view of medicine as practiced in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in the western United States. The information is just as valid for any area of rural America during that period. He includes medicine practiced by the American Indians, by Meriwether Lewis and William Clark on their explorations, by the mountain men, and by the travelers along the immigrant trails. These lay practitioners had limited knowledge, limited facilities, and limited medications. The amazing fact is that they did not kill more people than they did.

Steele then presents the triumph of modern medicine as practiced by trained personnel in the mining regions, by army surgeons, by doctors in rural areas, and by women physicians over quackery and folk medicine. The final sections document the maturation of modern medicine in the Western states, particularly in Montana, including establishment of hospitals, the growth of the role of the professional nurse, improvements in sanitation, and the development of public health services to treat epidemic diseases.

This is not a medical textbook. It is an interesting and well-written history of the development of medicine in the American West over the last century. Though the work in its entirety is a bit disjointed, the information contained is accurate, informative, and interesting. Most books written on frontier medicine are anecdotal stories of the trials and tribulations of an individual practitioner. Steele relates plenty of stories, but they are mixed with a serious dis-

cussion of the forces and events influencing the evolution of medical practice. I plan to keep this book in my library.

Watson Arnold MD
Fort Worth, Texas

One Ranger: A Memoir, H. Joaquin Jackson and David Marion Wilkinson (University of Texas Press, P.O. Box 7819, Austin, TX 78713-7819) 2005. Contents, Illus. Appendices, P. 279. $24.95. Hardcover.

Ask just about any Texan and they will quickly tell you that their heroes have always been Rangers. Perhaps no frontier institution in the annals of the American West – and certainly none in the Lone Star State – remains surrounded by as much mystique and shrouded in more myths than these legendary peace officers in the service of Texas. Through the generations, the lore of American Southwest has been steeped in stories of larger-than-life lawmen and their historic forerunner far-ranging Indian fighters of the Texas border. Yet the stubborn and troublesome truth persists: so much of that historical literature simply retells the Anglo version of Ranger folklore, one that is sanitized and one that largely discounts the experience of Texans of Mexican heritage.

At last there is a personal recollection that does justice both to the Ranger legend and to the *Tejanos* whose story was long left from the pages of the Texas experience. In *One Ranger: A Memoir,* H. Joaquin Jackson and his co-author, a brilliant writer named David Marion Wilkinson, have collaborated to offer readers of all interests a thrilling ride across the rugged landscape of modern Texas.

In the best tradition of the Rangers, and in the best tradition of autobiography, Joaquin Jackson recounts three crowded decades as a member of perhaps the most elite and most famous law enforcement corps in the world. With verve and wit, he recounts his most memorable encounters with cold-blooded killers, con artists, hardened criminals, bank robbers, rough necks, rapists, latter-day cattle rustlers, dope heads and drug dealers, bad men of the worst descriptions – or as Jackson termed the lot of them, "desperadoes and dumb asses." His folksy language and Wilkinson's fluid style combine to lead the reader on a thoroughly compelling and entertaining journey through the world of the wicked who would threaten all that is good with contemporary Texas.

"What a life I've lived!," Jackson confesses. "And it was all handed to me for nothing more than the asking. God, how I loved being a Texas Ranger" (p. 269). This dramatic and colorful memoir is not only a must read for all who love Texas history, it is enough to inspire everyone – regardless of their race, religion, or politics – to lift their longnecks (or lemonade) in tribute to a remarkable man who gave his all for Texas.

Jackson's account begins and ends with the best advice anyone ever gave him during his storied career as a Texas Ranger. "Never let the sons of bitches bluff you out" (pp. XV, 269). And that's enough to make even the most reverent and law-abiding citizen truly praise, "blessed are the peace makers."

Michael L. Collins
Midwestern State University

What I Learned on the Ranch And Other Stories from a West Texas Childhood, James Bruce Frazier (McWhiney/State House Press, McMurry University, Box 637, Abilene, TX 79697) 2003. Contents. Illus. P. 156. $18. Hardcover.

What I Learned on the Ranch and Other Stories from a West Texas Childhood tells stories from the childhood of James Bruce Frazier and is the second book in the Texas Heritage Series. Frazier grew up on the Cross Ell Ranch located near Big Spring, Texas, in the 1920s and 1930s and relates his remembrances of growing up there. The foreword written by Frazer's youngest son, Donald S. Frazer (James Frazer had seven sons and three daughters), gives a short family history behind the Cross Ell and the Frazer family's connections there as well as explanation, where needed, to clarify the stories in various chapters. James Frazer's book is an interesting look at ranching from a child's eye view.

Mr. Frazer tells the stories of growing up and how a child explains things to himself. He writes of the events, the people – both real and those of his imagination – who helped shape his formative years. Life on a ranch is more than just people; animals also shaped the life of the author. Frazer's book is enchanting as he relates his life growing up.

What I Learned on the Ranch is a compilation of the author's childhood stories. Without notes or index, it is difficult to use the book as a resource, but it is short and easy to read. Frazer's book gives the reader a view into life on a West Texas ranch as a child saw it.

Dyson Nickle
Wells, Texas

Perilous Voyages: Czech and English Immigrants to Texas in the 1870s, Lawrence H. Konecny and Clinton Machann (Texas A&M University Press, 4354 TAMU, College Station, TX 77843-4354) 2004. Contents. Illus. Notes. Maps Index. P. 183. $29.95. Hardcover.

Lawrence H. Konecny and Clinton Machann bring credentials somewhat different but also usual to the fields of ethnic and regional studies of Texas: Konecny in railroad management and Machann a professor of English. They create, in *Perilous Voyages: Czech and English Immigrants to Texas in the 1870s*, an illuminating mixture of immigrants' actual adventures to Texas, which contrast the extended and exaggerated claims of the period's pamphlets marketing the "glories" of the Texas prairies to credulous European newcomers.

The book structurally links records of the immigrants' experiences with the pamphleteers' assertions. It reproduces William Kingsbury's pamphlet (1877), Englishman William Wright's diary (1879) recounting of his exploratory trip to Texas, and Moravian oral histories that describe immigrant experiences in the Lone Star State. The Moravian period in Texas gives the reader a view of the immigrant's lives that often challenges the pamphlet's glowing claims.

I like this book. The contents are interesting to several groups of readers. First, the pamphlet is a good example of the era's commercial advertising that lauds the ideal of Texas land at the expense of the immigrant when confronted with the reality of actually surviving and making a living from it. Second, Wright's journey is an acceptably cynical view of what the journeyer actually finds in Texas. Third, the Moravians' experiences sums up the true hardship of challenging a new land and a new culture.

Melvin C. Johnson
Angelina College

Texas, Cotton, and the New Deal, Keith J. Volanto (Texas A&M University Press, 4354, TAMU, College Station, TX 77843-4354) 2005. Contents. Illus. Notes. Biblio. Index. P. 195. S35. Hardcover.

Perhaps no period of American history is as well documented as that known as the New Deal. By the time Franklin Roosevelt assumed office in 1933, a Depression-weary Congress was ready to try almost any scheme the administration devised to ameliorate the pain of the era. After all, inasmuch as "traditional" remedies had failed, if the Roosevelt Administration proved unable to revive the economy, members of Congress could tell constituents "at least we tried it Roosevelt's way." Such conditions gave birth to novel ideas and desperate measures, and all the newly created agencies of an expanded government required extensive records keeping. Keith Volanto successfully

plumbed these and other archives to present a comprehensive perspective of the federal government's efforts to support the United State cotton industry.

Government authorities faced many difficulties in their attempt to deal with the collapse of cotton commodity prices. The ways that cotton was raised, ginned, distributed, and marketed all posed problems. Not all production segments in the cotton business could agree on remedies. Overabundant supply, including product from Egypt and India, and shortage of market forced cotton prices into decline. The federal government urged farmers to plant fewer acres of cotton, a move opposed by ginners and railroads. When it devised a method to compensate producers who pledged to take acreage out of cotton production, administration of the reimbursement system proved hellish.

Roosevelt's policy of enlisting local agencies to administer federal New Deal programs was brilliant; edicts from Washington were more likely to be accepted when pronounced by a neighbor or acquaintance, rather than a "government agent." In Texas the brunt of the administration's efforts to reduce cotton production fell upon the shoulders of county agricultural agents, who had to survey farms and extract pledges from farm owners to take acreage out of production. The agents also had to endure the enmity of those whose government checks seemed never to arrive soon enough.

Volanto used primary sources to describe the desperation of cotton producers of the era. His work is enlightened by frequent use of correspondence between government officials and from farmers to their representatives. Employment of these sources helps the author bring readers into the context of the times and illustrates, as perhaps no other source can, the angst of the era, the desperation of the participants, and the magnitude of the task. Volanto illustrates the attempt by an interventionist federal government eager to reverse the precipitous decline of an industry that was as much a region's cultural heritage as it was its economic engine. Inasmuch as the collapse of cotton prices was precipitated by international trade, weather conditions, and economy, it proved ironic that the largely ineffective efforts by a single government to reverse the situation were superseded by the relief granted by the onset of the Second World War.

Not to read Volanto's book is to bypass a superb opportunity to view a pernicious and debilitating crisis from the perspective of its participants, to miss the story of those who suffered and those who sought to end the pain.

Page S. Foshee
Austin, Texas

From the Pilot Factory, 1942, William P. Mitchell (Texas A&M University Press, 4354 TAMU, College Station, TX 77843-4354) 2005. Contents. Epilogue. Notes. Illus. Sources. Index. P. 195. $32.95. Hardcover.

Shot at and Missed: Recollections of a World War II Bombardier, Jack R. Myers (University of Oklahoma Press, 2800 Venture Dr., Norman, OK 73069) 2004. Contents. Illus. Map. Epilogue. P. 309. $19.95. Paperback.

Into the Wild Blue Yonder: My Life in the Air Force, Allan T. Stein (Texas A&M University Press, 4354 TAMU, College Station, TX 77843-4354) 2005. Contents. Illus. Maps. Index. P. 185. $29.95. Hardcover.

Each of these memoirs is a fascinating chronicle of courage, yet each is as different, one from the other, as was a dashing fighter plane from a lumbering B-17 bomber during World War II. The authors were air warriors in that epic conflict and each has colorful stories to tell of their high-flying adventures both in the sky and on the ground.

What is fascinating about each book is the remarkable clarity of the author's memory. Although these aviators began their military careers over sixty years ago, their collective recollections of the dates and times of training and combat missions, impressions of wartime Texas, the names of flight school classmates, and often intimate details of off-duty hi-jinks flow throughout each book as though it had all happened last week. Yet, as detailed as these reminiscences may be, they are anything but boring or tedious.

William J. Mitchell had the valuable assistance of a loving mother to aid him in remembering the past. She kept every letter he sent home neatly bundled for him to have in later years. While that maternal trait may not have been all that rare during the war years, Mitchell's letters home are. He described almost everything that befell him during his career as an Army pilot, including a sketch about how to recover from a stall. With a youthful exuberance that is infectious still, he told his parents about some of his amorous adventures, which likely enthralled them more than learning how to survive the deadly stall.

In his colorful *Shot at and Missed*, Jack Myers gives us an eyewitness view of the hazardous duties of a combat bombardier during World War II. The lifespan of a bombardier was potentially highly abbreviated and Myers creates a chilling and vivid picture of how that frightening realization weighed heavily upon him and his comrades-in-arms. He leavens his war stories with a remarkably frank recounting of his social escapades once he climbed out of his perilous perch in the Plexiglas nose of a B-24 bomber.

Of the three books, Allen Stein's *Into the Wild Blue Yonder* provides us with the broadest, if occasionally somewhat bitter, perspective of the career air warrior. He clearly was a skilled pilot and a good commander who occasionally found himself caught up in the classic politics of military life. His obvious frustrations with the Army's hierarchy aside, Stein rewards us with exciting tales of airborne adventure punctuated by often-hilarious anecdotes from

his long career as a pilot.

In reading Colonel Stein's book, along with those equally well written by Mitchell and Myers, we are reminded just exactly how this nation was victorious in World War II. Simply put, it was because men like these had the courage to volunteer for extremely hazardous duty and to fly directly into the fiery hell of battle.

Read any one of these memoirs and you will find a rare treasure – read all three and you will discover a rich trove of eyewitness history from a time rapidly fading into the twilight.

Thomas E. Alexander
Kerrville, Texas

Patton's Ill-Fated Raid, Harry A. Thompson (Historical Resources Press, 2104 Post Oak Court, Corinth/Denton, TX 76210-1900) 2002. Contents. Maps. Illus. P. 272. $29.95. Hardcover.

Former Chief Warrant Officer Harry A. Thompson's recent publication, *Patton's Ill-Fated Raid*, is a welcome addition to the already substantial body of World War II literature. Thompson, captured early during the Battle of the Bulge, recalls his service in the U.S. Army and his horrific ordeal as a prisoner of war. He recounts General George Patton's botched attempt to rescue American officers, including himself and Colonel John Waters, the General's son-in-law, from a prisoner-of-war camp located deep within German territory. The operation, although initially successful, ultimately failed and is one of the few black marks on Patton's otherwise exemplary record. Thompson and the survivors were recaptured and marched away from the advancing American lines until finally liberated just before the conclusion of the war in Europe.

Thompson's reminiscence is gripping and is a must-read for anybody interested in the history of World War II. It is a valuable eyewitness account, and readers can almost feel the chill of the harsh European winter, the pangs of starvation, and the fear of death from execution or friendly fire. As a bonus, the work features numerous facsimiles of the letters and documents used to reconstruct the author's wartime experience and even includes the message sent to the Thompson family that mistakenly reported his death. Only a few pages are devoted to the raid itself; thus, the title of the book is somewhat misleading since Thompson discusses the brutal treatment he and his peers endured while prisoners of war almost exclusively. Nevertheless, *Patton's Ill-Fated Raid* is a worthy tribute to the heroism and sacrifices of the soldiers who won World War II.

Jake Bickham
Nacogdoches, Texas

The African Texans, Alwyn Barr, *The European Texans*, Allan O. Kownslar, *The Indian Texans*, James M. Smallwood, *The Asian Texans*, Marilyn Dell Brady, *The Mexican Texans*, Phyllis McKenzie, Sara R. Massey, Gen. Editor (Texas A&M University Press, 4354 TAMU, College Station, TX 77843-4354) 2004. Contents. Illus. Notes. Index. Bibl. P. 127, P. 197, P. 150, P. 129, & P. 143 Respectively. $29.95 Hardcover. $10.95 Paperback. (*The European Texans*-$12.95).

Texas' strength derives from the fact that it is an exceedingly multi-cultural state. To foster and to emphasize that basic fact, the five books comprising the Texans All series were developed by the San Antonio-based Institute of Texan Cultures, edited by Sara R. Massey, and published by Texas A&M University Press. Each book focuses on a particular national group as well as the concomitant ethnic group(s) within the national assemblage that arrived in the Lone Star state. The works supersede "the ethnic pamphlet series" introduced by the Institute over the past thirty plus years.

Readers of all ages will find much to attract them in these books. They are well written and are especially valuable repositories of the lives and history of the peoples who settled in Texas. Each volume incorporates a splendid blend of maps, sketches, and thoughtful sidebars. Each also provides short vignettes of individuals who are important to the history and understanding of that ethnic/national group.

The approach and organization taken by the individual authors varies; to a certain extent each approach and its organization dictated by the national groups the authors studied. Three of the books (Alwyn Barr's *The African Texans*, James M. Smallwood's *The Indian Texans*, and Phyllis McKenzie's *The Mexican Texans*) are organized chronologically, with the respective scholars including the varied ethnic and separate groups within their national focus as they emerged within the chronological timeframe. This has two favorable results: first, that a substantial amount of space and time is spent on the twentieth century, and second that the sections are not broken up into small segments. Marilyn Dell Brady's *The Asian Texans* and Allan O. Kownslar's *The European Texans* are organized differently. *The Asian Texans* covers the nine major Asian regional groups that immigrated to Texas in seven chapters. Each group is introduced in the order in which that group arrived in the Lone Star state. In *The European Texans*, Kownslar divides the work into four European regions (western, northern, eastern, southern), and then includes each of twenty ethnic/national groups within the appropriate regional chapter. The advantage of this approach is that it is easy to locate where a particular group, the Swedish Texans, for example, can be found in the volume. The disadvantage is that most of the information concerns the nineteenth century.

This is a striking series, worth reading for everyone. Despite that fact, as in any collection, there are those that stand out. Alwyn Barr, the primary scholar of the African American experience in Texas, using the knowledge gained

during an acclaimed career, wrote a superb book. His "Bibliographic Essay" is worth reading just to learn and understand the importance of such endeavors. James M. Smallwood, although stepping outside his usual field, summarized research on Native Americans in Texas exceptionally well. Especially of interest is his focus on Indians in twentieth-century Texas. However, the reader will be well served by any of these volumes, and can learn about the fascinating role of Japanese Texans, Norwegian Texans, Canary Islanders, Tigua Indians, or Black Seminoles, among many, many others.

Bruce A. Glasrud
Seguin, Texas

I'll Find a Way or Make One - A Tribute to Historically Black Colleges and Universities, Juan Williams and Dwayne Ashley (Amistad: an imprint of HarperCollins Publishers) 2004. Contents. Notes. Photographs. Index. Bibliography. P. 453. $35.00. Hardcover.

The argument for reviewing this book for the *East Texas Historical Journal* is that it should have included East Texas, but it doesn't, and will undoubtedly disappoint any purchaser expecting it to do so. Co-authored by PBS documentarian Juan Williams and the president of the Thurgood Marshall Scholarship Fund, Dwayne Ashley, with a foreword by CBS journalist Ed Bradley, *I'll Find a Way or Make One* sets out a laudable goal - to fill the historical gap between the extensive writing about African American slavery and the many books covering the civil rights movement and subsequent efforts to end racial bias in the United States. All the royalties from sales of the book will benefit the Thurgood Marshall Fund.

The authors promise to deliver a chronicle of the creation and growth of the black middle class, "the history of education in the African American community, and some of the important events of African Americans and American history."

This is an impossible task, even in a 450-page book.

Ashley's and Williams' premise is correct; without historically black colleges and universities, most privately funded in the days following the Civil War, it would have taken another fifty years to provide even a modicum of higher education for African Americans in southern states. State-funded liberal arts colleges were not established until the 1930s.

Almost from the beginning of black education white people funding it were interested in providing at the most trade schools for the newly-freed men and women. Williams and Ashley document the great battle between Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. DuBois, with Washington supporting the trade-school concept and DuBois arguing for a liberal arts education. Consequently, Washington's Tuskegee Institute and the agricultural colleges established

under the Morrill Act received the lion's share of white philanthropy. The others struggled, depending on largely white Northern church organizations and the meager funds African Americans themselves could raise for their continued existence.

That said, the book does not quite deliver on its premise. Given that it is impossible to tell every story of 108 private and publicly funded historically black colleges, there could and should have been a better balance in the history that does emerge. Is it possible that Williams and Ashley did not actually write the entire book, but that it was put together by the staff of the Thurgood Marshall Scholarship Fund, and that they, in turn, depended too much on forms filled out by the current staffs of the extant colleges? If so, many of those charged with completing paperwork apparently do not know their institution's history.

There were at least fourteen black colleges in East Texas, but they go almost entirely unmentioned, quite common with books on the South, no matter the general subject. One would expect Ashley, who graduated from Marshall's Wiley College, to include them. He also should have been aware that the Freedman's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, North, founded more than twenty black colleges, including Wiley and ten others still in existence. However, the efforts of Northern Methodists are entirely left out of a thirteen-page sidebar on the founders of black institutions of higher education. One of them was Wiley College which, at the height of the quality and influence of black colleges in the 1920s and 1930s, ranked academically with Fisk, Morehouse, Dillard, Shaw, and Wilberforce. They all got "A" ratings from the Southern Association the same year. In this book the first five were listed, Wiley was not.

The "Profiles of Historically Black Colleges and Universities," an appendix, with material undoubtedly submitted by the colleges themselves, is extremely uneven. One of the most outstanding, Atlanta University, is not included. Several make major mistakes when they account for their founding. Some do list their outstanding graduates, some fail altogether.

A definitive book needs to be written about the black colleges of the United States and the valuable contribution they made to the intellectual achievement they made possible. Sadly, this is not it.

Gail K Beil
Marshall, Texas

Freedom Colonies: Independent Black Texans in the Time of Jim Crow, Thad Sitton and James H. Conrad (University of Texas Press, P.O. Box 7819, Austin, TX 78713-7819) 2005. Contents. Notes. Biblio. Illus. Index. P. 248. $19.95. Paperback. $50. Hardcover.

After the Civil War, many former slaves started the slow slide from freedom to sharecropping. Some freedmen moved out of the South. Others remained but refused to be part of a white-dominated world. They were the founders of freedom colonies, or black communities that arose in the spaces unwanted by white society such as river bottoms and other undesirable locations. Freedom took a lot of hard work, but for many it was worth the cost. East Texas hosted hundreds of freedom colonies.

This well-researched book is the first to tell the story of those settlements and it is the first to use the slave narratives and other sources that allow the settlers' own words to speak for them. *Freedom Colonies* describes the economic and social conditions that drove the migrations; the conditions the settlers endured and overcame, the institutions they created, and the arrangements with whites that allowed them to survive and in some cases to flourish. The chapters deal with education, work, religion, culture, and other elements of the experience. The authors tell the story of the freedom colonies from the early days to the collapse of most of the settlements to the nostalgic revivals in the twentieth century as former members and their descendants came back to repurchase old homesteads and otherwise reclaim the community.

This work is important because it uses the words of black settlers to tell of previously neglected black settlements. It is fascinating because it provides a story of survival during difficult times.

The authors certainly scoured the state to collect everything they could. Through extensive effort they brought the scattered fragments together to create the portrait of a largely lost and ignored aspect of African American history. The result is a well-written and interesting history.

John H. Barnhill
Houston, Texas

The First Waco Horror: The Lynching of Jessie Washington and the Rise of the NAACP, Patricia Bernstein (Texas A&M University, 4354 TAMU, College Station, TX 77843-4354) 2005. Contents. Illus. Notes. Biblio. Index. P. 252. $29.95. Hardcover.

The First Waco Horror is the second book by Patricia Bernstein who has also published articles in a number of magazines such as *Texas Monthly*. This book details the brutal lynching of Jessie Washington – a seventeen-year-old African American – in 1916. Tens of thousands of residents from Waco and

surrounding areas looked on as the lynching took place.

According to Bernstein, the lynching, which W.E.B. Dubois dubbed the "The Waco Horror," was important for two reasons. Firstly, it caused a massive outcry from whites all over the country. Southerners (including Texans), as well as New Yorkers, vented their disgust over the tragedy, which placed pressure on the law-abiding residents of Waco. Many Waco residents condemned the lynching without expressing sympathy for the victim. Most of them had hoped that this horrific event would disappear quickly from the American memory. This leads into Bernstein's second and more important assertion, which is that the Waco Horror jumpstarted the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People's (NAACP) rise to prominence.

Lynchings had plagued America (particularly the South) since the post-Reconstruction era and continued to be a problem into the 1930s. Moreover, the Waco Horror was neither the first nor the last lynching to take place in Waco. What made this lynching so important and so different from all the previous lynchings was that the NAACP was able to get an investigator, Elizabeth Freeman, to the scene of the crime quickly. The organization had not been able to do so with previous lynchings. The investigator received fresh leads on the participants of the lynching as well as details of the lynching itself. With the particulars of the lynching in hand, the NAACP succeeded in prolonging its memory, which applied additional pressure on the beleaguered residents of Waco.

While *The First Waco Horror* is not without shortcomings, such as some lack of objectivity, organization, and focus, it is nonetheless well researched and well written. Bernstein relies heavily on local newspapers, letters, interviews, and NAACP organization papers. She also had access to a significant number of photographs including explicit photographs of the Waco Horror's aftermath.

Dino Bryant
Texas Tech University

Remembers of Mose: The Life of Mose Stimpson and His Times, Eddie "Sarge"Stimpson, Jr. (Heritage Farmstead Museum, 1900 w 15th St, Plano, TX 75075) 2004. Illus. P. 88. $16.95. Paperback.

Remembers of Mose presents the life of Mose Stimpson, the great-great grandfather of the author, Edward "Sarge" Stimpson, Jr. It represents the collective stories and genealogical information available about Mose. This heartfelt biography contains valuable information for families, historians, and genealogists.

Remembers of Mose typifies the traditional family history. Stimpson tells how he found the information about Mose, then tells his story. He contacted a

direct descendent of Rachel Bellzora Stimpson. Rachel Bellzora received the slave child Mose as a birthday present from her father, Isaac Stimpson. Stimpson saw the family Bible listing Mose and his birth date in April 1830. Several sources revealed that, although a slave, Mose was truly a part of the Stimpson family. After the Civil War, Mose assumed the family name and received support from them to start his own farm as a free man. Mose Stimpson raised a family of his own and became a successful farmer in the Plano, Texas, area. He continued to be a part of the Stimpson family through out his life.

Remembers of Mose contains several valuable points. It is a wonderful contribution to genealogy and family history. Stimpson includes several family stories and family trees of the white and black Stimpson family. The book also offers an interesting perspective of slaves and freedmen's lives.

Remembers of Mose is a biography with an added touch of heart and soul from a loving grandson. It shows the importance of family ties and offers valuable insight into slave life in Northeast Texas.

Samantha Kirkley
Tyler, Texas

Honky Tonk Hero, Billy Joe Shaver (University of Texas Press, P.O. Box 7819, Austin, TX 78713) 2005. Contents. Illus. P. 191. $19.95. Hardcover.

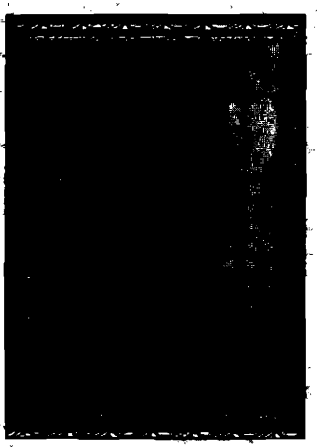
Billy Joe Shaver's autobiography is written in the same style of raw eloquence that makes him one of country music's most distinctive songwriters. He startles and hooks the reader from the opening sentence: "I was not even born yet when my father tried to kill me" (p. vii). This refers to the drunken, vicious beating his dad gave his mother two months before Billy Joe's birth in Corsicana, an assault that predictably broke up the family and forecast many misfortunes to follow. Billy Joe describes a wild and crazy childhood in the home of his grandmother, highlights of which were attending the Church of the Nazarene and sneaking off one night to see Hank Williams. Just out of the Navy, he met the love of his life, Brenda Tindell, whom he would soon marry for the first of three times. Working in his father-in-law's sawmill, Billy cut off parts of three fingers of his right hand. During his recovery, he pledged to turn his life around and devote himself to songwriting.

Soon thereafter, Billy Joe went to Nashville, where he worked for Bobby Bare and got his first LP produced by Kris Kristofferson. His huge break came when Waylon Jennings recorded ten of his songs on his classic "outlaw" album, *Honky Tonk Heroes,* in 1973. This jumpstarted Billy Joe's recording and performing career. That career got its second wind early in the 1990s when Eddy Shaver became his dad's guitarist. More indebted to Jimi Hendrix and Duane Allman than to any of his dad's country idols, Eddy brought a harder

edge to Billy Joe's recordings. Eddy died of a drug overdose and an apparent beating on New Year's Eve, 1999, a few months after the death of his mother. Somehow, Billy Joe persevered, bolstered by his songs and his deep Christian faith.

Like Bob Dylan's recent *Chronicles*, this songwriter's story is brilliantly written. It would be impossible to find a more authentic, compelling Texas voice than Billy Joe Shaver's.

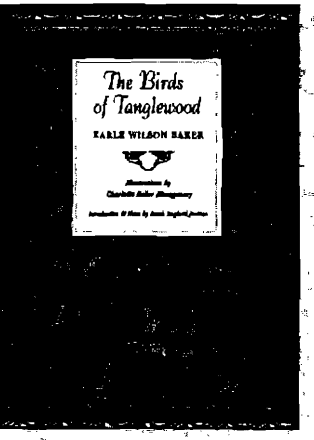
Stephen K. Davis
Kingwood College



XAS WOMAN OF LETTERS, KARLE WILSON BAKER

AH RAGLAND JACKSON

Texas writer Karle Wilson Baker was one of the best-known Texas s of the early twentieth century. Jackson's biography of this multi- nted writer introduces her life and sheds light on the literary times in ch she lived, spotlighting developments in East Texas throughout her and career. $34.95



THE BIRDS OF TANGLEWOOD

KARLE WILSON BAKER

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Panola College, Carthage
Red River Radio Network, Shreveport, Louisiana
Regions-Stone Fort Bank, Nacogdoches
Sam Houston Regional Library & Research Center, Liberty
Sam Houston State University, Huntsville
San Jacinto Museum of History, La Porte
Southwest Dairy Museum, Sulphur Springs
Temple-Inland Forest Products Corporation, Diboll
Texas Forestry Association, Lufkin
Texas Forestry Museum, Lufkin
Texas Historical Commission, Austin
Trinity Valley Community College, Athens
Tyler Junior College, Tyler
Tyler Morning Telegraph, Tyler
Vinson & Elkins, L.L.P., Houston

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